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# ***Daily Report***

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## **Sub-Saharan Africa**

FBIS-AFR-90-152  
Tuesday  
7 August 1990

# Daily Report

## Sub-Saharan Africa

FBIS-AFR-90-152

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7 August 1990

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**\* Cot Characterizes Cooperation Policy as Failure**

90AF0350A Paris JEUNE AFRIQUE ECONOMIE  
in French Jun 90 pp 84-86

[Interview with Jean-Pierre Cot, former French minister for cooperation and development, by Christine Coste: "Cooperation Has Failed"; date and place not given]

[Text] His arrival at the old building on Rue Monsieur in June 1981 shook things up at the French Ministry of Cooperation, which had never before been headed by a Socialist. But calm was quickly restored. A year and a half later, Jean-Pierre Cot's mission was suddenly terminated.

Today, as president of the Socialist group in the European Parliament, Cot still enjoys a good argument. This 53-year-old man with the charming smile and piercing blue eyes, known both for his candor and his skills as an orator, still loves nothing so much as taking on the established order and challenging the conventional wisdom.

**Die Hard Third Worlder**

Politics holds no mysteries for him. He has been immersed in it since childhood. The son of Pierre Cot, a minister in the Popular Front government of 1936, he already had his law professorship when he entered the Socialist Party in the heat of the events of May 1968. Once considered a protege of Francois Mitterrand, Cot nevertheless steadfastly refused to align himself with any one faction, although he did support Rocard in 1979. From 1970 to 1981, he had two careers going at the same time: assembly deputy, and professor of international law and sociology.

Francois Mitterrand's victory in the May 1981 presidential elections propelled him into the intricacies of Franco-African relations. Named deputy foreign affairs minister for cooperation and development, his positions and views upset people. Neither the Elysee nor officials in the African capitals wanted to change old habits acquired over so many years of cooperation. Conservatism overcomes the will to change. In December 1982 he left Rue Monsieur, not without bitterness. But he did not forget his ideals, which he wrote about in his book, "A L'Epreuve du pouvoir: le tiers-mondisme, pour quoi faire?" ["The Ordeal of Power: Third-Worldism, To What End?"].

A member of the UNESCO executive council from 1983 to 1984, he was returned to the National Assembly in the elections of 17 June 1984. Re-elected on 18 June 1989, Cot is now battling with equal determination for his latest cause, European union.

The former minister has continued to keep a watchful eye on French cooperation policy. He agreed to share with us his always incisive observations on the subject.

[JEUNE AFRIQUE ECONOMIE] What is your assessment of trends in Franco-African relations since your departure from the Ministry of Cooperation?

[Cot] France deserves a lot of credit for having maintained its ties to the African continent over all these years. At a time when governmental development aid (APD) from all the other Western countries was declining, only two states—France and Italy—increased their APD. The high percentage of our aid devoted to the sub-Saharan countries—the decision was made in 1982 and has never been changed—shows how important they are to France, even though they may not be the most attractive countries in the Third World. This undeniable political will to maintain close relations with these states seems important to me. French development aid must continue to give sub-Saharan Africa unconditional priority.

[JEUNE AFRIQUE ECONOMIE] Does that mean you disagree with those in France who favor more diversification?

[Cot] I don't agree with that at all, or with the recommendation for further diversification in the Stephane Hessel report. Personally, I favor concentrating our aid to support precise political objectives.

[JEUNE AFRIQUE ECONOMIE] How effective has the French cooperation policy been?

[Cot] It is a failure in terms of results. Despite our formidable efforts, we have not been able to stop the vicious cycle of underdevelopment. In reality our effort, though costly, has been poorly organized and has not yielded the results we had hoped.

[JEUNE AFRIQUE ECONOMIE] And for what reason?

[Cot] Our cooperation policy was not sharply enough focused. When I was cooperation minister, I wanted the aid to be tightly controlled in the framework of a development plan, negotiated between ourselves and our African partners, that would establish rigorous conditions for our assistance. This turned out to create a certain number of problems. I am not sure we pursued the policy as energetically as I had hoped.

Of course, world economic conditions didn't make things any easier. However that may be, the results are plain. Today we must ask ourselves why Africa now has "poorer prospects" than before, even though it has been the principal beneficiary of our development policy. This question merits some serious thought, a lot of self-criticism regarding the responsibility borne by France's leaders, a responsibility they cannot escape.

[JEUNE AFRIQUE ECONOMIE] In Eastern Europe today the West is making its assistance contingent on democratization. Can we make the same demands on the African countries?

[Cot] Certainly not. The problems are quite different. In Africa, policy is determined by market economics, even if it is falsified to some extent by government intervention. The political will to set up a completely centralized



economic system does not exist anywhere on the continent. Moreover, the standard of living and the investment capacity are much lower than in Eastern Europe. As a result, African states do not respond to the call for economic "liberalization."

Africa has not even begun to develop. It is not being strangled by the prohibition against private enterprise that has afflicted the countries of East Europe. The African continent has other problems: inadequate administrative structure, corruption, excessive bureaucracy...

[JEUNE AFRIQUE ECONOMIE] So it is hopeless?

[Cot] No, it is not hopeless. The emergence of multipartyism in some of these nations is to my mind a fantastic source of hope. It is both a condition of their development and a condition of our continuing aid. For the French people will no longer allow aid to continue to states that do not respect certain values such as human rights and freedom of thought.

[JEUNE AFRIQUE ECONOMIE] So you do not agree with Jacques Chirac's assertion that in developing countries multipartyism is a political error and a luxury?

[Cot] I fail to understand Chirac there. What he said was absurd and irresponsible. Pluralism obviously has its share of problems. But to tell people not to change anything is really to ignore everything that is happening around the world: it is to lend one's support to a retrograde system that moreover has not solved the problems these countries face. I do not see any reason why Africa should be sheltered from these "winds of freedom."

[JEUNE AFRIQUE ECONOMIE] How can France support African countries that are making an effort to democratize?

[Cot] There are two types of support. One I would call negative: it is the limit imposed by French public opinion on the ties we can maintain to regimes that trample on human rights. The other, which is positive, would mean giving encouragement to those who open up, by promoting such things as technology transfer. Rather than hanging onto our old ties, we would be better off laying the basis for our relations with the new generation that will emerge from multipartyism.

[JEUNE AFRIQUE ECONOMIE] Within France, isn't it also necessary to revitalize the institutional framework of cooperation?

[Cot] The reform I wanted was a good one. In fact, Stephane Hessel borrowed some of its ideas. Because to my mind it is important for our APD to be brought under a single political authority, which itself should be attached to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. That is the only way it can be effective. And this single agency should not be concerned exclusively with Africa. That does not mean the continent would forfeit its position as a privileged beneficiary of French aid. Priority in terms of appropriations does not necessarily mean having a special administrative structure to manage aid to Africa.

It is important for this structure to be horizontal, so there is an overall sense of direction in our cooperation policy. We must also "decolonize" certain kinds of behavior.

[JEUNE AFRIQUE ECONOMIE] How do you explain the persistence of such [colonial] attitudes?

[Cot] I think we are faced with African partners that are clinging to the status quo. They don't like change. In France we have started from the idea that it is not our responsibility to change those relations before the African countries demand it. In my opinion, that is faulty thinking. We do not have to model our cooperation policy on what African elites expect of us. It is a mistake to reward that kind of "waiting game." We run the risk of compromising the future. If Africa were a "success story," it would be different. I would be the first to say, "Don't change anything!" But it is a failure. And it is up to us to learn from that...

[JEUNE AFRIQUE ECONOMIE] Then the Elysee is not happy with the status quo?

[Cot] The president is responsible for foreign policy in general, and for Africa in particular. When it comes to overall policy, Francois Mitterrand wants to keep things the way they are. I do not share that point of view. The reasoning behind it is that the game is not worth the candle. But this kind of thinking risks making light of Africa's plight; moreover, it puts the burden of supporting certain African friends squarely on our shoulders. As a consequence, it risks compromising our foreign policy objective.

[JEUNE AFRIQUE ECONOMIE] What do you think of the Supreme Development Cooperation Council, which Hessel proposes to create?

[Cot] That is a good idea. We should not be afraid to experiment, or afraid of criticism, or afraid to listen to all sorts of advice on how to implement our policy more effectively. Our cooperation policy should be open, transparent and effective. But I think it is important for it to remain ultimately under political authority. I have substantial reservations about giving it too much authority, for that would be to make it a development agency. In reality it is part of France's foreign policy, which means the political authorities should make the policy decisions.

[JEUNE AFRIQUE ECONOMIE] The Franco-African summit will be held 19-22 June at La Baule. Of what use are these meetings, in your opinion?

[Cot] First of all, they are useful for all the African heads of state, in addition to the clientele of the "pre-carre" [translation unknown]. They are instruments for carrying out our foreign policy. But let's not get off on another subject. It is in France's political interests to maintain close ties to the French-speaking African countries. I am fully in agreement with that idea. But I believe we must find a better instrument to make that policy fully successful. That is why I am not happy with the

current structure. We must abandon this "pre-carre" perspective which over time will poorly serve the objectives we seek to attain. For Africa, the status can be nothing but dangerous.

[JEUNE AFRIQUE ECONOMIE] At the summit, two issues are expected to be raised: the Europe of 1993 and the current upheavals in East Europe. Is Africa justifiably anxious about these developments?

[Cot] In the current state of play, Africa is frightened of everything. And often with good reason. Economies all over the continent are deteriorating so rapidly that virtually any kind of shock, any restriction, is a matter of concern to African leaders. And I understand how they feel. Given the prospect of the big European market in 1993, and the support the international community has provided to the countries of East Europe, they are right to ask questions. But it is up to us to find answers that will reassure them. We must not take back with one hand

what we give with the other. I am afraid that in establishing this greater market we are showing favoritism to the newly industrialized countries to the detriment of the others. After 1993, I fear that Africa is going to be sacrificed in the GATT negotiations. France ought to be Africa's advocate.

[JEUNE AFRIQUE ECONOMIE] Would you consider going back to your position as cooperation minister, if it were offered to you?

[Cot] Certainly not. One must never go backwards. I thought my policy would bring new hope. Instead, it brought handwringing and obstructionism. My return would only lead to more of the same. I hope the path we opened will be taken up by others instead of consigned to oblivion. I am pleased with the tone of the Stephane Hessel report, which to some extent does incorporate our ideas. But it will require political will to make it a reality. It is the wave of the future.

## Gabon

### Call for 'Cease-Fire' Between Iraq, Kuwait

EA0408134090 Dakar PANA in French 1030 GMT  
4 Aug 90

[Text] Libreville, 4 Aug (AGP) [as received]— The Gabonese Government has called for a cease-fire between Iraq and Kuwait and asked for the withdrawal of "foreign troops" from the Kuwaiti territory following the invasion of that country by Iraqi troops, according to a communique published yesterday evening in the Gabonese capital.

The communique deplores "the serious character of this situation," and underlines that the determination of the belligerents and the regional alliances constitute major risks of escalation of violence in this region, which has already suffered from the Iran-Iraq conflict. Therefore, Gabon is hereby calling on the entire international community to look into the matter.

"Gabon, in particular, who along with the two belligerents, is a member of the UN, the Nonaligned Movement, the Islamic Conference Organization, and OPEC, is deeply attached to the principle of respect of the sovereignty of all the states, and believes in dialogue as a means to settle conflicts and disagreements. Gabon is hereby launching a solemn call for establishing dialogue between Iraq and Kuwait to enable a peaceful settlement to the conflict," the communique concluded.

### \* Political Effects of Oil Stoppage Examined

90AF0327A Paris LE MONDE in French  
1 Jun 90 pp 1, 6

[Article by Veronique Maurus]

[Text] What role has the French ELF [Gasoline and Lubricants Company of France] Aquitaine group played in the events that have occurred in Gabon?

When it suddenly halted production at the end of last week without warning the government, only to resume it immediately after the forceful warning by President Bongo Monday evening, was this French group attempting to destroy the stability of the regime, thus playing into the hands of its opponents, as veiled statements in Libreville are currently accusing it of doing? Or did the French company, the victim of events, only do what "was necessary, given the context," as the president of ELF stated Wednesday, in order to safeguard its personnel when they were directly threatened, while it retains "a continuing desire to resume oil production, which plays a very important role in the Gabonese, as soon as possible"? The tremendous importance of ELF in Gabon, where it is not only the main provider of foreign exchange, the leading employer, and the heaviest taxpayer, but also and traditionally, a more or less parallel drive belt for the French authorities, automatically points toward the first thesis.

Particularly since the relations between ELF and the Gabonese Government have been somewhat shaky in the past five years. The decline in the production results of ELF Gabon (in which the Gabonese state has a 25-percent interest, while ELF has 48.5 percent), together with the oil countershock, and then the emergence of the Sheli group (which was selected in 1985 to operate the new Rabi Kounga field, and since it went into production in 1981, has ousted ELF from its position as leading producer), and above all the desire voiced by President Bongo to diversify the oil suppliers by bringing in new companies, has provoked some concern within the French group. The redistribution of a number of ground licenses—the most promising—planned for next year was regarded as confirming evidence.

The French group thus had a reason for and the means of causing the present Gabonese Government a problem, because as the minister of information explained, an interruption in oil production for 10 days would suffice to "devastate" the economy (LE MONDE, 30 May). And there was an aggravating circumstance—Marc Saturnin Nan Nguema, a former ELF Gabon official, and also a former secretary general of the OPEC, is among the principal leaders of the PGP [Gabonese Progress Party], an opposition party.

Concerning this list of suspicions, however, the group is not without justifying arguments. There can be no doubt about the reality of the threats hanging over the expatriate personnel just prior to the weekend, when a huge demonstration was expected in connection with the burial of opposition leader Joseph Rendjambe, and the Gabonese police seemed to have lost control. ELF Gabon directors had been taken hostage, and the installations were clearly being threatened by the demonstrators. It has been explained that it was necessary to wait until the French Army had obtained authorization on Tuesday, 29 June, to provide direct protection for the Cap Lopez terminal, the most exposed facility, through which all of the production of the maritime fields passes, before extraction could resume.

ELF, moreover, has not been the only company to send its expatriate employees home. All of the other foreign companies have done the same thing. To be sure, Shell has said, after the fact (to emphasize ELF's responsibility?) that it has not effected the massive reduction in the yield of its Rabi-Kounga deposit that was reported. It appears, however, according to various sources (all in agreement), that the Anglo-Dutch group, which moreover did not issue any immediate denial, did, in brief, reduce the rate of extraction from 120,000 barrels per day to 20,000, with a return shortly thereafter to 80,000. In addition, it is emphasized at ELF, the Rabi deposit, which is buried in the depths of the jungle, is much less exposed than the Cap Lopez terminal located near Port-Gentil.

Moreover, its directors point out, the French company left a team of some 50 technicians in place—a sufficient number to guarantee the maintenance and resumption of operations. In addition, it did not suspend production at the small fields

in the southern part of the country, which for their part are regarded as safe. However, although this was not mentioned, this also served to avoid drawing the attention of the demonstrators to this deposit.

"As soon as the teams remaining on duty were assured of safety, they started production up again," the president of the group says, adding that the normal rate will be achieved in four or five more days, and that the production lost, which can be made up in a few weeks, "will have no effect on the accounts." As to the activities of the former deputy director general of ELF Gabon in the opposition, the issue provokes smiles within the group, in which it is stated with assurance that Mr. Nan Nguema, a traditional and known opponent of President Bongo since the 1960s, was hired by the company in 1966 with the full agreement of the government. He is still today an oil adviser, following his withdrawal from the OPEC in 1983.

#### **'Covering All Fronts'**

There remain the manner and the suddenness of the decision, and above all the failure to inform the authorities. On this point, ELF's defense is less convincing. "We tried to make contact with the government, but were not successful, since the situation was extremely difficult," the ELF director general for hydrocarbons, Andre Tarallo says. And there remain, finally, the consequences. Whatever the explanation may be, this affair has left its mark. In the eyes of the public, ELF will remain under the suspicion of having at least maintained its distance from the regime in power, of having in some way "set itself apart from" President Bongo.

This might perhaps not be a bad move, should there be a change of government. But if there is not, will ELF be able to persuade the authorities of its good faith, and to retain its oil positions in a country that accounts for a good third of its reserves in Africa, and 16 percent of its

total reserves? It is true that after the fact, the group has shown exemplary docility, responding promptly to the president's injunctions.

Is ELF "covered," then, on all fronts? In any case, the upper echelons are presenting a very calm appearance. "Whatever the development in an oil-producing country, there is always the need to produce oil. We are in a situation of optimal security. I have no particular worries in this connection. Our concerns had to do solely with the safety of individuals." President Loik Le Floch Prigent said when asked about the consequences of a possible major deterioration in the stability of Gabon.

### **Zaire**

#### **Civil Servants Decide To Continue Strike**

*AB0608163090 Kinshasa AZAP in French 1020 GMT  
4 Aug 90*

[Text] Kinshasa, 4 Aug (AFP)—Civil servants in the public administration who have been on strike since 9 April have decided to continue their strike until their salary and social demands are satisfactorily met. A representative of the strikers, after a long meeting of representatives at the Foreign Affairs Ministry, made an appeal yesterday. The negotiations with the government, which began several days ago, have stumbled over a 100 percent salary increase rate conceded by the government, which the civil servants consider insufficient.

Reporting today on the outcome of their meeting yesterday, the representatives expressed their willingness to continue the negotiations with the government and stated that they had no objective information to give the other civil servants on the progress of the talks. The strikers, who are torn between continuing the strike and resuming work, are becoming tired.



## Kenya

### PC Meets With Somali Border Authorities

EA0608124490 Nairobi KNA in English 1417 GMT  
5 Aug 90

[Text] Garissa, 5th August (KNA)—The north-eastern provincial commissioner [PC], Mr. Amos Bore, has thanked Somali Government for releasing three Kenyans arrested four months ago in Buulo Xaawo in Somalia. The three, Mr. Habib Toroitich, David Mareka and Hassan Salat, had crossed into Somali town from Mandera to do shopping when they were arrested.

At a border meeting held at Liboi in Kenya yesterday, Mr. Bore formally handed over two vehicles stolen from Somalia by criminals. Another vehicle also stolen from there was returned on Friday [3 Aug] in Mandera. The leader of the Somali delegation, acting governor of lower Juba region, Mr. Mohamed Hussein Sabriyeh, told the meeting that 70 camels stolen from Kenya had been recovered and would be returned soon. He also disclosed that investigations had been launched on the water pump and 25 heads of cattle stolen from Kenya.

Mr. Bore and Sabriyeh agreed that frequent consultative border meetings were necessary to harmonise relations between the two countries. They observed that since the last meeting held in Garissa, security along the border had improved tremendously. The two sides also agreed to flush out criminal elements bent on disrupting peace along the common border. Peace, they observed, was paramount in order to achieve development for the benefit of the peoples of the two countries.

Mr. Sabriyeh praised the Kenyan delegation for playing a leading role in cementing friendship existing between the two countries. He promised that Somalia officials would reciprocate by ensuring that these relations are further strengthened. Mr. Bore described the meeting as open and honest where each side advanced their views with open minds. The PC, Mr. Bore, conveyed H.E. [his excellency] President Daniel arap Moi's greetings to President Mohamed Siad Barre and the people of Somalia.

## Tanzania

### \* Exiles Write to Nyerere on Multiparty, Election

90AF0435B Dar es Salaam FAMILY MIRROR  
in English Jul 90 pp 1-2

[Text] Exiled former Tanzanian Foreign Minister, Oscar Kambona has hailed CCM [Revolutionary Party] Chairman Julius Nyerere's initiative to introduce debate on whether Tanzania should remain a single-party state or go multi-party.

In an interview on BBC World Service early last week, which was monitored in Dar es Salaam, Mr. Kambona revealed that various groups of Tanzanian political exiles abroad met in London on June 23, 1990 and

formed the Tanzania Democratic Front, an umbrella grouping of six different organisations, which is anxious to participate not only in the debate but also in multi-party elections if and when they take place.

To this end, the Front has written a letter to Mwalimu urging him to ask the National Assembly to extend the current presidential term of President Ali Hassan Mwinyi up to July next year to give all political parties sufficient time [to] organise, register and prepare themselves to campaign for multi-party general elections in 1991.

The letter was signed by Kambona, on behalf of his Tanzania Democratic Forum and it carries five other signatures of people representing the Zanzibar Organisation, Harakati za Mabadiliko ya Kidemokrasi (HAMAKI), the Tanzania Youth Democratic Movement, the Tanzania Action Front and another one calling itself NUNA led by one Ludovick Mwijage.

The letter urges the immediate repeal of Clauses 3 and 77 from the Constitution of the United Republic of Tanzania so as to legalise the emergence of other parties and political affiliations. The letter, a copy of which was made available to the FAMILY MIRROR, is reproduced in full hereunder with its photo.

Mr. Kambona also revealed that similar letters have been sent to President Ali Hassan Mwinyi, all members of the National Assembly and to all members of the National Executive Committee of CCM.

The letter, mailed from London address, carries the title: "The Way Forward to a Multi-Party Democracy." It says:

"We of the Tanzania Democratic Front welcome the initiative of the CCM chairman to allow the introduction of non-ethnic competing parties into the political and constitutional system of Tanzania.

"We submit that early consideration be given to the amendment of Articles 3 and 77 of the country's Constitution in order to give legitimacy to the establishment and functioning of political parties in addition to the CCM; that consideration also be given by the National Assembly to the extension of the presidential term of President Ali Hassan Mwinyi until July 1991 so that sufficient time may be given to all political parties to organise, register and prepare themselves in campaign for a nation-wide, open and free general elections in 1991.

"We together with all-minded Tanzanians, commit ourselves to the principle of democratic representative government conducted in the spirit of tolerance, open discussion and free association. We fully support the initiative of the Civil and Legal Rights Movement recently formed in Tanzania which is committed to the enhancement and safeguard of human rights, including the right to free political association. We also support the recent statement of the Rev. Christopher Mtikila on the need for political pluralism in Tanzania.

We congratulate Tanzanians for their foresightedness and appreciation for an all-embracing political atmosphere in the Tanzania of 1990s.

We further commit ourselves to the inalienable right of the people of Zanzibar for SELF-DETERMINATION and, therefore, to their right for an internationally supervised REFERENDUM conducted through secret ballots.

## Uganda

### New UFM Chairman on Ties With Government

AB0608090290 London BBC World Service in English  
1615 GMT 2 Aug 90

[From the "Focus on Africa" program]

[Text] The recent peace accords in Uganda seem to have caused all kinds of squabbles and splits among exiled opposition people. For example Otema Allimadi's agreement on behalf of the Uganda People's Democratic Movement [UPDM] rebels led to condemnation by a faction of the movement and the [word indistinct] about Allimadi as the UPDM's leader. Now it is the turn of Francis Bwengye, of the Ugandan Freedom Movement [UFM]. He too went home and did a deal with President Museveni. But other members of the UFM are still here in London, among them, (Dennis Katangole), who says he is the UFM's new chairman. Elizabeth Ohene asked him why he hadn't gone home too?

[Begin recording] [(Katangole)] No, the Ugandan Freedom Movement elected a new leadership on the 19th of May 1990 after being pressured by our supporters at home that the leadership, which at that time was still on, working with the enemy and that the work which the Ugandan Freedom Movement was committed to do was not being done properly and it was then that after, Mr. Francis Bwengye was forced to resign that he started very open negotiations with Mr. Museveni which aimed at his return home to be given a ministry or something else. [sentence as heard]

[Ohene] But when you say open negotiation, do you mean that he had been doing negotiations prior to this?

[(Katangole)] Oh yes, we have come to learn that Mr. Bwengye didn't actually do the work which he is supposed upon the Ugandan Freedom Movement's constitution and that he was working on the orders of the government. This is why we now had to act.

[Ohene] Don't you have a duty rather to work toward some form of accommodation, some sort of peace in your country?

[(Katangole)] As you know, the Ugandan Freedom Movement worked with President Museveni since January 1986. We have been asking President Museveni to negotiate not only with the individuals, but to hold meaningful discussions with groups. We regard this as the only way of bringing peace to Uganda.

[Ohene] I would think that that's what your former chairman was doing.

[(Katangole)] No, we are totally against the way President Museveni has been trying to deal with the opposition. He doesn't discuss the matter with the opposition groups, but he discussed the matter with the individuals and he tried to accommodate the leaders of the opposition groups as ministers in his cabinet. And as you know....

[Ohene interrupting] No, no, come on. If somebody is a chairman of a group and President Museveni is dealing with him, you can hardly accuse him of dealing with an individual. After all, he is the chairman of the group.

[(Katangole)] Now you know that a group does not only consist of the chairman but it also consists of the executives.

[Ohene interrupting] With that he did not represent you?

[(Katangole)] No, he didn't.

[Ohene] But he was your chairman?

[(Katangole)] This is why, in fact, it was very very bad that Mr. Bwengwe managed to be the chairman of the Ugandan Freedom Movement because good was done. [sentence as heard]

[Ohene] So, what is left of the Ugandan Freedom Movement now?

[(Katangole)] The Ugandan Freedom Movement, as you may know, has a very big support within the populace of Uganda. But what they are asking us is to try to initiate together with the government a process of freedom. But we are not going to come to this freedom if one individual ... [changes thought] if President Museveni calls upon individuals and talks peace with them.

[Ohene] But your chairman, having gone now, probably might accept a position in the government. Currently, you are in a state of disarray, I think.

[(Katangole)] No, there is no question of disarray. And in fact, the fact that Mr. Bwengye decided to go back to Uganda has shown and given the movement much more strength. [end recording]

**Reportage From Government, ANC Meeting****Mandela Interviewed Before Talks**

MB0608170290 London BBC World Service in English  
1525 GMT 6 Aug 90

[From the "Focus on Africa" program]

[Text] In South Africa, a second round of exploratory talks between the De Klerk government and the ANC [African National Congress] began today. Before the talks got underway, Michael Wooldridge spoke to ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela and he asked him first whether he thought the remaining obstacles to the talks would be cleared at this meeting.

[Begin recording] [Mandela] Whether we will succeed in removing all the obstacles is a matter that (?will be revealed) at the meeting itself. But as far as we are concerned, we do not see any reason why these obstacles should not be removed in this particular meeting.

[Wooldridge] What exactly are you expecting of the government in this meeting?

[Mandela:] We want the date of the granting of indemnity to all political exiles to be determined. We also want [words indistinct] to be fixed a date by which all political prisoners, including those in death rows, should be released. We are calling for a commitment from the government that there will be no further political trials in the country. We are also demanding that the government should lift the state of emergency in Natal and we are asking for security legislation which we have identified [words indistinct] we accept that that legislation can only be repealed by Parliament, in other words, during the next session of Parliament, but we are going to insist on an agreement that the government is not going to use this legislation between the meeting and the date when Parliament will actually repeal the legislation.

[Wooldridge] Whether or not you will secure all of these things in this meeting, is it conceivable that from the ANC side you could announce a suspension of armed actions during the course of the meeting?

[Mandela] That is our intention. If the government is prepared to move forward by way of removing the obstacles, we are prepared to make a declaration at this meeting that we (?have) suspended the armed struggle. [end recording]

**De Klerk, Mandela News Conference**

MB0608233490 Johannesburg Television Service  
in English 2256 GMT 6 Aug 90

[News conference addressed by State President F. W. de Klerk and African National Conference Deputy President Nelson Mandela at the Union Buildings, on 6 August in Pretoria—live]

[Text] [De Klerk] Good evening, ladies and gentlemen. Thank you for your patience. You had to show patience, we also showed patience throughout the day. Mr. Venter will act as chairman of the conference.

[Venter] The first questioner is Mr. Clarence Keyter, SABC [South African Broadcasting Corporation].

[Keyter] Mr. Mandela, according to the statement, what actions will you and the SABC and the ANC be taking....[laughter]

[Mandela] Mr. Keyter, I am not a member of the SABC. [laughter]

[Keyter] What action will you be taking, and what steps will you be introducing, to ensure that the announcement of tonight will be adhered to at grassroots?

[Mandela] Well, firstly, there will be no infiltration of men and arms into South Africa, and any related activity to military action will be suspended. And, of course, we hope to be able to communicate with our people and to inform them of what we have decided.

[Venter] Mr. Arrie Rossouw from BEELD.

[Rossouw] Mr. Mandela, can you tell us how does this agreement tie in the SACP [South African Communist Party]?

[Mandela] We are speaking here as the ANC, and the members of the SACP who are members of the ANC regard themselves as bound by the decisions of the ANC.

[Venter] Mr. Allan Fine from BUSINESS DAY.

[Fine] [Words indistinct] suspension of the armed struggle. What is the situation....

[Mandela] Are you talking to us?

[Fine] Yes, sorry, Mr. Mandela....

[Mandela] Well, if you are talking to us, make yourself heard.

[Fine] What is going to happen with members of your armed forces who are already in the country?

[Mandela] I'm afraid I can't hear you. Can you speak louder?

[Fine] What is going to happen to members of your armed forces who are in the country at this stage?

[Mandela] Well, they will be informed of the decision, if there are members of Umkhonto we Sizwe [Spear of the Nation, armed wing of the ANC] that are inside the country.

[Venter] Mr. Ross Dunn from the AUSTRALIAN FINANCIAL REVIEW.

[Dunn] [Words indistinct] of the Internal Security Act [words indistinct] I just want to know if that is an acknowledgment now by the government that there's possibly less of a threat from communist forces inside the country than has been suggested in the past few weeks?



[De Klerk] Firstly, that paragraph does not mean at all that the government has suddenly become pro-communist in anyway whatsoever. We remain as firmly opposed to communism as ever, and will continue to fight that within the normal rules of democratic procedures. So, no deduction to the effect that we've gone soft on communism must be made from that paragraph. But, having unbanned all organizations including the SACP, it wouldn't make sense to retain an offence on the statute book to say that you can be charged criminally for being a communist, and that is, in essence, the meaning of that particular paragraph.

Yes, I think there has been a change in the threat which communism offers. It is a philosophy and a policy which is breaking down across the world. It is renounced by many people and many leading figures who previously supported it, and in that sense of the word, I think there has been a fundamental change.

[Venter] Judy Ashley from SKY NEWS.

[Ashley] [Words indistinct] paragraph six [words indistinct] government will [words indistinct] state of emergency in Natal as soon as possible. Do you expect a bit more.... What exactly will have to take place there for you to lift the state of emergency?

[De Klerk] Was the question addressed to me?

[Ashley] Yes, it was.

[De Klerk] I really couldn't clearly hear you. Could you speak a little bit louder?

[Ashley] What does it mean when you say you will lift the state of emergency in Natal as soon as possible?

[De Klerk] I don't say that I will lift it. I say that we will consider lifting it as soon as possible. We expect as it is stated in the rest of that paragraph, that we expect that positive consequences should result from this accord; that, therefore, there will be hopefully, a fundamental change in the situation on the ground, which will allow us to soon consider the lifting of the state of emergency.

It has, throughout the state of emergency, when it applied to the whole country, been our goal to move away from that as soon as possible, and when I announced the retention or the instatement of a state of emergency for Natal only, I reiterated that that would be our goal. We think that what has happened today forms an important turning point which will in all probability result in a much more peaceful situation in South Africa, which will enable us to do exactly what is stated in paragraph six.

[Venter] Mr. John Matterson from NATIONAL PUBLIC RADIO, USA.

[Matterson] [Words indistinct] in paragraph four, you refer to steps that will be taken by (?both) sides to normalize the situation in Natal. My question is, the level of prosecutions in Pietermaritzburg, for instance, is

very inadequate, something like 20 prosecutions for more than 3,000 murders. What will be done to ensure that the police start to effectively prosecute murderers, and was anything discussed of an ANC role alongside the police, in Natal, to effect this today?

[De Klerk] With regard to the first part of the question, the steps from the government's point of view would include ensuring sufficient logistical support to, in an efficient manner, handle the demands made upon the courts and the police. With regard to the second part of your question, we did not discuss in detail exactly who should do what, but there is the mutual undertaking that both the government and the ANC represented at the meeting today will take initiatives in this regard. There is on-going consultation between us, and surely this matter will also be canvassed in further consultations.

[Venter] Mr. Allan Dunn from the PRETORIA NEWS.

[Dunn] Mr. Mandela, in paragraph four, both delegations express serious concern about the general level of violence, intimidation, and unrest in the country, especially in Natal. I wonder if you could address us on how that affects the ANC's campaign of mass action?

[Mandela] Well, the ANC's campaign of mass action is influenced by the fact that there is no mechanism which can be used to defuse the situation, to address any grievances which blacks have in this country, and therefore it is to be expected that in the absence of that mechanism, mass action should be resorted to by the masses of the people, and as long as that mechanism is not available, it is natural that the people will use such strategies as are available to them. Nobody should expect a cessation of such activities if there is no mechanism which can address the problems which are affecting the people on the ground.

That is simply natural that we should resort to strategies which are available to us. But, if, as we have provided in this agreement, a mechanism is established on a national level which can be used in order to defuse any situation which calls for mass action, then, of course, there will be a reduction of the type of mass action to which the people have been resorting to when they are faced with a specific problem.

[Venter] This looks like Mr. Gordon Bates from JOURNAL LE GENEVE.

[Bates] Sorry, a question to both Mr. Mandela and President De Klerk. [Words indistinct] said that negotiation was a question of give-and-take. If you'll forgive me, I like to ask you, what in each of your positions do you consider you gave most?

[Mandela] Well, as far as the ANC, that is very clear what concessions we have made. We have declared for the suspension, in favor of the suspension of armed action with immediate effect. You will notice that, on previous occasions, we have said that the ANC will be prepared to

consider the suspension of hostilities only if the government first removes the obstacles to negotiation.

But we came to this meeting already having decided that we will declare a cease-fire with immediate effect. So, we have made a very significant concession.

[De Klerk] As far as we are concerned, I want to stress that I have never approached the issue of give-and-take in a sort of materialistic way. We are not dealing here with fixing the price of a house. We are dealing with the future of a country, and giving and taking goes much deeper than bartering. The giving and taking consists, when parties negotiate, in both parties stripping themselves of that...in previous viewpoints from that which makes the attainment of the goal of peaceful solutions on a just and equitable manner impossible. We've been doing it constantly, and inasmuch as further impediments may come forward, we will go out of our way to, within reason and with maintenance of the basic values to which we adhere, to make the creation of a new and just South Africa possible. It is in that spirit that, if you want to define the giving, the giving is there in proof that the government means what it says, and intends to execute its declarations of intent made previously, punctually, and as soon as possible.

[Venter] Mr. Hans Brandt from THE TAGES ZEITUNG BERLIN.

[Brandt] Mr. Mandela, this is addressed to you. It's in fact to follow up on that question. You have suspended the armed attacks. What exactly is the concession the government has made in exchange for that? Previously you talked about things like police violence, but I have seen no indication of what the government gave in order for you to make such a considerable concession.

[Mandela] You should put that question to Mr. De Klerk. He can deal with it.

[Brandt] Mr. Mandela, with due respect, you made a concession. What did you get in return?

[Mandela] Well, I have answered that question.

[De Klerk] It is the viewpoint of the government—I think that I want to give some clarification—that the police must at all times deal with all problems in an even-handed manner. Inasmuch as evidence comes before us, or proof is submitted, that this policy is not adhered to, the government will, as in the past, take steps against those who transgress the policy and the rules laid down in that regard.

[Mandela] We are, of course, as the ANC, are not satisfied with the reply just given by the state president. The actions of the police indicate to us that the government has not succeeded in restraining police activity. We feel quite dissatisfied with the manner in which state organs are involved in the violence that is taking place, generally, throughout the country, and especially in Natal, and we have raised our dissatisfaction with the government in this regard.

The state president and his colleagues have, of course, promised us to go into this question. We have quoted numerous examples of cases which indicate that there is something wrong, and that the government has either lost control over the police, or the police are doing what the government wants. It's a totally unsatisfactory situation, and until the government is able to tame the police, we will continue to be dissatisfied. However, we accepted the assurances that they have given, that they are going to go into this question, and to try and discipline the police force.

[De Klerk] Yes, I don't want to comment further. We had a long discussion on this. What is important is that any such allegations, from wherever it comes, should be substantiated by evidence and information which will enable us to carry out proper investigations. If we get such information, proper investigations will be carried out, and if transgressions are found firm steps will be taken.

[Mandela] I don't want to be involved in any debate with the state president, but in actual fact over the last months we have given evidence, we have given information, both to the state president as well as to the minister of law and order, of specific instances of police irregularities, but we will continue doing so, in the hope that the government will eventually be able to bring about some sort of control over the police in regard to their actions, especially towards the ANC and its members.

[De Klerk] Yes, I don't want the last word. Can I just say...[laughter] The specific cases to which Mr. Mandela refers were mentioned again today and, yes, they will be further investigated, and in a few cases, Mr. Mandela said that he would furnish us with some information which we specifically required of him. I am informed, ladies and gentlemen, that within the procedure which was agreed upon that was the last question. We say thank you very much for your attendance. We wish you everything of the best, and a good night's rest. Think of us; some of us have to fly down to Cape Town tomorrow, while you will still be in bed.

[Mandela] Well I join the president in expressing such sentiments. We are very sorry indeed to have kept you waiting, but we ourselves, you know, have been working very hard. Especially because we did not want you to wait for the whole day and we hope you will accept our apologies.

[De Klerk] Good morning, ladies and gentlemen.

#### Statement on Armed Conflict

MB0608230490 Johannesburg SAPA in English  
2259 GMT 6 Aug 90

[Text] Pretoria Aug 6 SAPA—The African National Congress is suspending all armed action with immediate effect, according to a joint statement by the ANC—SA government delegations which met in Pretoria on Monday [6 Aug].

"No further armed action and related activity by the ANC and its military wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe [Spear

of the Nation], will take place," according to the statement released minutes ago by the ANC—Government Joint Working Committee.

The statement was made at a press conference early on Tuesday morning after the historic and lengthy meeting. "The ANC decided on this in the interest of moving as speedily as possible towards a negotiated peaceful political settlement," it said.

It was agreed that a working group would be established to resolve all outstanding questions arising from the decision by the ANC to suspend their armed struggle. The working group will report by September 15.

The government has undertaken to consider lifting the state of emergency in Natal as early as possible in the light of positive consequences that should result from this accord.

The ANC and the government further decided that in view of the new circumstances emerging, there would be an ongoing review of security legislation.

"The government will give immediate consideration to repealing all provisions of the Internal Security Act that: —refer to Communism or the furthering thereof; —provide for a consolidated list; —provide for a prohibition on the publication of statements or writings of certain persons; —provide for an amount to be deposited before a newspaper may be registered."

The government would continue reviewing security legislation and its applications in order to ensure free political activity, with the view to introducing amending legislation at the next session of Parliament. The joint statement said the government and the ANC had again committed themselves to the Groote Schuur Minute which resulted from the first talks in Cape Town in May.

The final report of the Working Group on Political Offences dated May 21 1990, as amended, was accepted by both parties. "The guidelines to be formulated in terms of the report will be applied in a phased manner. The meeting has instructed the working group to draw up a plan for the release of ANC-related prisoners and the granting of indemnity to people in a phased manner and to report before the end of August," according to the Pretoria Minute.

Both delegations also expressed serious concern about the general level of violence, intimidation and unrest in the country, especially in Natal.

Both parties have committed themselves to undertake measures to expedite the stabilisation of the situation "in line with the spirit of mutual trust obtained among the leaders involved."

They agreed that in the context of the search for peace and stability, it was vital that understanding should grow among all sections of South Africa's populations—that problems could be solved through negotiation. Whatever

additional communication mechanisms were needed, should be developed, both delegations noted.

"We are convinced that what we have agreed upon today can become a milestone on the road to true peace and prosperity for our country. In this we do not pretend to be the only parties involved in the process of shaping the new SA. We know there are other parties committed to peaceful progress. All of us can henceforth walk that road in consultation and cooperation with each other. We call upon all those who have not yet committed themselves to peaceful negotiations to do so now."

The government and the ANC said that against this background the way was now open to proceed towards negotiations on a new constitution. Exploratory talks in this regard would be held before the next meeting, which would take place soon.

### Prisoner Release Outlined

MB0708010090 Johannesburg SAPA in English  
0022 GMT 7 Aug 90

[Text] Pretoria Aug 7 SAPA—The Working Group on Political Offences must draw up a plan for the release of ANC-related prisoners and the granting of indemnity to people in a phased manner, the SA government/ANC delegation has instructed.

This was decided upon after almost 15 hours of talks between the government and the ANC on Monday [6 Aug]. The meeting ended finally with a press conference early on Tuesday morning. The Working Group has to report back before the end of August, according to the Pretoria Minute—a joint statement by the ANC and the government—which was released after the talks. Both parties accepted the final report of the Working Group on May 21 1990.

"The report makes provision for formulation of guidelines which will be applied in dealing with members of all organisations, groupings or institutions, governmental or otherwise, who committed offences on the assumption that a particular cause was being served or opposed."

The following target dates have in the meantime been agreed upon:

—"the body or bodies, consisting of a convenor with ad hoc appointments from concerned groups when dealing with particular offences, will be constituted by August 31 1990;  
—"the further release of prisoners which can be dealt with administratively will start on September 1 1990;  
—"indemnity which can be dealt with in categories of persons and not on an individual basis will be granted as from October 1 1990. This process will be completed not later than the end of 1990;  
—"in all cases where the body or bodies to be constituted will have to consider cases on an individual basis, the process will be expedited as much as possible."

It was hoped that this process would be completed within six months. The latest date envisaged for the



completion of the total task in terms of the report by the working group was not later than April 30 1991.

This programme would be implemented on the basis of the report of the Working Group, according to the Pretoria Minute.

### **Tutu Commends ANC**

*MB0708011090 Johannesburg SAPA in English  
0102 GMT 7 Aug 90*

[SAPA PR WIRE SERVICE: Issued by: Church of the Province]

[Text] Cape Town—Archbishop Desmond Tutu this morning (Tuesday) commended the African National Congress "very warmly" for suspending the armed struggle but warned the government "very sharply" that it would wreck prospects for a negotiated settlement if it failed to bring the police under control.

Responding to developments after this morning's joint news conference including the state president, Mr F.W. de Klerk, and ANC deputy leader, Mr. Nelson Mandela, Archbishop Tutu said in reference to the ANC's decision:

"It's tremendous news. On the basis of what was said in the news conference, we want to commend the ANC very warmly for its actions. But at the same time, we must warn the South African government very sharply that if it does not act very firmly indeed to bring the police under control, then it will wreck the prospects of a negotiated settlement. On the issue of violence, the ball is now squarely in the court of the government."

### **Kagiso Violence Continues, Death Toll Rising**

*MB0608170690 Johannesburg Television Service  
in English 1600 GMT 6 Aug 90*

[Text] At least 14 but possibly as many as 30 people are believed to have died in violence which has erupted at Kagiso near Krugersdorp on the West Rand. Sixteen people have been treated for knife wounds and 57 others have been arrested.

Police have been patrolling the area since last night when the feuding broke out between several factions claiming at least four lives. Three of the victims had knife wounds and the body of a fourth man was in a hostel with a bullet wound. The area has since been cordoned off.

Police and others were attacked during the night by a large group of people and several police vehicles were damaged. A man was killed this morning when a group of 200 people wielding pangas [bush knives], axes, clubs, and bricks, stormed the police. The bodies of five others were discovered during the day. They had axe, knife, and bullet wounds. Today Kagiso residents stayed away from work and pupils did not attend school.

### **Police, Movement Leaders Seek Control**

*MB0608214290 Johannesburg SAPA in English  
2138 GMT 6 Aug 90*

[By Raphael Banda]

[Text] Johannesburg Aug 6 SAPA—Residents in Kagiso township on the West Rand on Monday [6 Aug] gave shelter to hundreds of hostel dwellers as efforts were stepped-up to avert further bloodshed in the political violence that erupted on Sunday.

Police said earlier 10 people had died in the fighting between Inkatha members and supporters of the African National Congress [ANC]. But Mr. Sydney Mafumadi, COSATU [Congress of South African Trade Unions] assistant general secretary, told SAPA on Monday night he believed at least 14 people had died. In further sign the toll could be higher, COSATU spokesman Neil Coleman told SAPA a man who had escaped from the hostel—where fighting centred—claimed more corpses remained inside the hostel.

Mr. Coleman alleged police had not allowed residents access to the building to account for the dead. Mr. Coleman could not immediately name the man who survived the attack, but said he had been thought dead and managed to escape. Police said 57 people had been arrested and would face charges of public violence.

Mr. Mafumadi said at least 1000 ANC supporters at the the hostel had been advised to move out to avoid further clashes. Most of them had been accommodated by residents through the Krugersdorp Civic Association, while others had taken refuge in churches. "All non-Inkatha members who are resident at Kagiso Hostel have been asked to leave for their own safety tonight," the union leader said.

Earlier on Monday civic leaders in Kagiso, United Democratic Front General Secretary Popo Molefe and Mr. Mafumadi met a Col. Van der Walt, head of the West Rand Riot Squad, to discuss ways of restoring peace to the area. The colonel, Mr. Mafumadi said, had pledged to station his men near the hostel and bar Inkatha members from invading the township. Police would also monitor events in the township by helicopter.

The MDM [Mass Democratic Movement] team undertook to prevent its supporters from returning to the hostel, the COSATU leader said. As part of continuing efforts to ensure restoration of peace in the area the MDM leadership, police and representatives of Inkatha would meet on Tuesday, Mr. Mafumadi said.

The fighting, which follows clashes in Sebokeng last month, erupted after an Inkatha rally in Soweto. Police said 10 people had died. Four appeared to have been killed by unknown gunmen, one died from police gunfire on a mob and one was found dead with stab wounds.

Mr. Mafumadi said his delegation had asked Col. Van der Walt to ensure the removal from the hostel of

Inkatha members who had allegedly infiltrated the compound. "The police must take steps to get them out so that only bona fide residents can remain," he said.

His delegation had also demanded that the Inkatha supporters be disarmed in return for a similar gesture from the ANC supporters. "Our argument is that if we are satisfied those in the hostel are disarmed we are going to implore those who have moved out of the hostel to return unarmed," he added. "We are very concerned that at the fact that Inkatha is continuing to spread its reign of terror and violence in the PWV [Pretoria - Witwatersrand - Vereeniging] area," said Mr. Neil Coleman. "As in other areas where these attacks have taken place our information is that Inkatha had been preparing these attacks for a couple of weeks before-hand." Mr. Coleman called for intervention. "This wave of terror sweeping the Witwatersrand now needs intervention at the highest level."

Civic leader Nomvula Mokonyane told SAPA that Kagiso was tense and residents were terrified. "It is very tense...the people are bitter because they see the police taking sides. There is insecurity. They expected the police would play intermediary role."

Police denied the charges. Police spokesman Lt. Peter Brandt told SAPA on Monday night: "We are taking every possible step to prevent and stop this irrational violence and any criminal activity for that matter." He said police were impartial. They had organised the delivery of milk and bread to hostel dwellers and gave protection and escorted residents to ensure their safety. "Not only are we maintaining law and order but we are already rendering community services to the people of Kagiso," he said.

"I want to stress that the police are not interested in the political affiliations of people breaking the law... We are only interested in the individual or individuals responsible for this unnecessary violence. We do not deny that there may be more people killed, but according to our records there has only been 10 people killed in unrest-related incidents from last night in Kagiso," Lt. Brandt later said.

#### **Government 'Still Believes in Separate Schools'**

MB0708070890 Johannesburg THE CITIZEN  
in English 6 Aug 90 p 11

[By Fred de Lange]

[Text] The government is not planning to open all schools to all races and still believes in separate schools, community life and residential areas.

This policy statement was made by the Minister of Education and Culture in the House of Assembly, Mr. Piet Clase, at a youth congress of the National Party in the Orange Free State on Saturday [4 Aug].

Mr. Clase told the delegates that although the NP [National Party] still believed in separate schools it would consider requests that certain schools be opened to all races.

"School communities will be able to choose for themselves if they want to compete with other groups or if they want to integrate with them," he said.

Mr. Clase said before any request for opening schools would be considered, his department would take note of the feeling of the majority of the community served by the school as well as the availability of alternative education structures for those who do not wish to integrate.

His department would also consider the influence of such an opening on the Christian character of the school in question, the requirement for mother-tongue education as well as culture-bound education and a preference for children in the immediate area of the school.

Mr. Clase said free settlement areas should not affect this policy because before such an area was created, the majority of the residents would have to approve it and those who insisted on separate schools would have to be accommodated.

He said there were those who believed that only a complete restructuring of the education system in South Africa would legitimise education in the eyes of other groups.

Two questions, however, remained. The first was if such a single education department would solve the immense education problems.

The second was if the establishment of additional educational models would satisfy the demand for a single education department.

Mr. Clase said he believed not all the groups would be satisfied but that the government was trying to protect the right of minority groups by the devolution of power to local communities.

"It is not our consideration what the ANC wants, but what would be in the best interests of our children and our country," he said.

Mr. Clase said in these days of a continued search for security the people of South Africa had to guard against two dangers.

The first was meeting aggression with aggression or to look for confrontation.

The second was a syndrome of capitulation and a fatalistic attitude of letting go.

"This is a time for statemanship and not for confrontation or surrender.

"We must show greater determination to negotiate for what we want because we believe in equal opportunities for all and fairness towards all," he said.

**Police Spokesman Denies Allegations of Bias***MB0608215290 Johannesburg SAPA in English  
2142 GMT 6 Aug 90*

[Text] Johannesburg August 6 SAPA—There was no proof the police were biased in favour of a specific organisation or political party, SAP [South African Police] Public Relations head Maj. Gen. Herman Stadler said on Monday [6 Aug].

He appealed "to all concerned not to sow hatred and mistrust between the people and the police." Instead of making vague allegations, people were urged to submit detailed affidavits so the allegations could be properly investigated against available evidence. Gen. Stadler said the SAP were concerned the current violence in the country was aggravated by "emotional statements by various individuals, organisations and the media."

In its strategy to maintain law and order, the SAP noted and made provision for factors contributing to the violent situation in the country, he said. These were socio-economic problems and expectations created by political developments.

Gen. Stadler said the police admitted there may be SAP members with rightwing sympathies, "just as there are those in this organisation of 70,000 members with leftwing sympathies." These members did not let their political convictions influence them in any way when it came to the execution of their duties, he said. "The police once again give the unqualified assurance the policy of the SAP is to be impartial."

Police regulations and standing orders strictly prohibited members from indulging in political preferences. Where individual members acted illegally, whether because of their political convictions or not, strict action was taken against them, Gen. Stadler said.

**Institute: Political Violence Claims More Lives***MB0608150490 Umtata Capital Radio in English  
1300 GMT 6 Aug 90*

[Text] The South African Institute of Race Relations has said that political violence in the first half of this year has claimed more lives than in the whole of last year.

One-thousand-five-hundred and ninety-one died in political violence between the beginning of January and the end of June this year. The figure for the whole of 1989 was just over 1,400. The institute says the number of fatalities in Natal dropped in the second quarter of this year.

**Police Union Stages Sit-In at U.S. Consulate***MB0708085190 Johannesburg SAPA in English  
0825 GMT 7 Aug 90*

[Text] Johannesburg Aug 7 SAPA—Four members of the Police and Prisons Civil Rights Union (POPCRU) entered their second day of a sit-in at the U.S. Consulate in

Johannesburg on Tuesday [7 Aug], demanding the immediate reinstatement of 61 dismissed policemen and warders.

The 61, including POPCRU president, Lt. Gregory Rockman, were dismissed from their posts earlier this year after downing tools in protest against racial discrimination, poor accommodation for warders and the refusal of the authorities to recognise the fledgling union. POPCRU organiser Peter Nkuna said they would announce later in the day when the protest would be called off. He said a memorandum had been presented to the American officials, who had promised to forward it to the South African authorities.

A spokesman for the U.S. consulate-general told SAPA the protesters had entered the premises at 2pm on Monday. "Four members of POPCRU, on the pretext of seeking a meeting with the consulate's labour officer, entered the consulate on Monday afternoon and have refused to leave. We would refer you to POPCRU about their demands. The consulate offered to use its good offices to transmit the members' position to the appropriate South African authorities." The U.S. official said in the past, they had done this for other groups with grievances.

"However, after making good faith efforts with this POPCRU group, we feel our trust and hospitality are being abused. The consulate closed at its normal time on Monday and reopened for regular business today. After this morning (Tuesday), however, as a rule, we cannot allow a diplomatic mission to be used as a public platform for individuals or organisations no matter how justified they may feel their cause is," said the spokesman.

**National Police Liaison Issue Unrest Report***MB0708081490 Johannesburg SAPA in English  
0808 GMT 7 Aug 90*

[Text] Pretoria Aug 7 SAPA—Unrest report: The SAP [South African Police] report the following unrest-related incidents were reported during the past 24 hours: "At Ashton (Cape) a private vehicle was set alight by a group of blacks. During another incident a police vehicle was damaged by stone throwers. Two members sustained slight injuries.

"At Nonzwakazi (De Aar) arsonists caused damage to a clubhouse.

"At Arcadia (Port Elizabeth) a number of vehicles were damaged during stone throwing incidents. Two SA Police members sustained light injuries. Police arrested two coloured men. These incidents occurred during an illegal gathering. During further illegal gatherings groups of coloureds set a private vehicle alight. The fire brigade was prevented from extinguishing the fire by stone throwing mobs. The driver of the private vehicle was stabbed and wounded by the group. A group stoned an office and set the building alight.

"At Bloemendal (Port Elizabeth) a group of coloureds robbed a driver of his truck and set the vehicle alight.

"At Umlazi (Natal) an unknown gunman fired a number of shots at policeman. The member was wounded in the left arm.



"At Wesselton (Ermelo) two black men were arrested after a black man was shot and wounded by a group.

"At Kagiso (Krugersdorp) police found the body of another black man who had been shot by unknown gunmen. This brings the total of deaths reported to the police on 1990-08-06 to 11.

"At Nyanga (Cape) a group of blacks set a private dwelling alight.

"At Bonnievale (Cape) a coloured man was arrested when a shop was set alight. The building was gutted.

"At Botshabello (Bloemfontein) a group of blacks hurled petrol-bombs at a government building. The offices were extensively damaged.

"At Mtshansa Reserve (Empangeni) a group of blacks marched through the reserve and fired a number of shots at a black man who was fatally wounded.

"At Nseleni (Empangeni) a group of blacks set a private vehicle alight.

"At Esikhawini (Empangeni) a group of blacks attacked a private house and fired a number of shots at the dwelling. One black man was shot and fatally wounded.

"At Taylors Halt (Natal) a black man was shot and fatally wounded by an unknown gunman.

"At Ngwelezane (Empangeni) police found the body of a black man who had been shot.

"At Wesselton (Ermelo) a group of blacks threw stones at a policeman. The group then attempted to run him down by car. The member, after firing a warning shot with his service pistol, fired at the group. One man was shot and fatally wounded and another wounded and arrested.

"At Alexandra (WWR) [Witwatersrand] a group of blacks stoned and extensively damaged a police vehicle."

#### 6 Aug Press Review on Current Problems, Issues MB0608135990

[Editorial Report]

#### THE CITIZEN

'Too Much Cognisance' of Slovo Controversy— The government "has been taking far too much cognisance of the controversy over Mr. Slovo rather than concentrating on Operation Vula," declares Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English on 1 August in its page 6 editorial. F.W. de Klerk "should be asking Mr. Mandela today whether Operation Vula is as sinister as the police have suggested, whether he supports it, whether he agrees to the infiltration of armed men and weapons and the setting up of safe houses, and whether he condones the plan to seize power if the negotiations fail. That is the crux of the crisis of confidence between the government and the ANC-SACP."

#### THE STAR

SACP Economic Formula 'Far' From Realities— Johannesburg THE STAR in English on 6 August in a page 10 editorial states: "Joe Slovo is out of touch. And the 'mixed economy' platitudes he put forward last week in the FINANCIAL TIMES of London show how far removed from modern realities is the thinking of the SA

Communist Party." "Cloaking the communist fist in a 'welfare' glove doesn't fool anyone. It merely underlines Mr. Slovo's tacit acknowledgement of the total failure of Karl Marx's dream. Mr. Slovo's efforts to exonerate communism might convince readers of THE SUN. On a FINANCIAL TIMES platform, before an audience of cynical realists, they may have damaged his credibility beyond repair."

Mozambique Multiparty Proposal 'Good First Step'—A second editorial on the same page refers to Mozambique's decision to introduce a multiparty system, saying "the political and economic stagnation resulting from the lack of checks and balances a multiparty system provides will take years to redress. But the move is a good first step away from a ruinous road, and another lesson to other leaders in Southern Africa."

#### BUSINESS DAY

Call for Renunciation of Violence—Johannesburg BUSINESS DAY in English on 6 August in a page 6 editorial says it does not believe Mandela has the "ability to bring the country to rest by announcing a 'ceasefire' or by suspending the armed struggle, such as it is." BUSINESS DAY believes the violence in the country is a result of "rivalry between black political organisations, and simple economic deprivation," and "neither will yield to pious statements." However, renouncing violence is "a necessary first step towards bringing to bear the general moral condemnation of violence which, in turn, is a prerequisite of effective police action."

Unions SACP 'Real Power Base'—Editor Ken Owen observes on the same page that the "rising generation of SACP [South African Communist Party] leaders—Cheryl Carolus, Chris Dlamini, John Gomomo, Sydney Mafumadi, Moses Mayekiso—have been drawn from the labour movement, and they are poised to shake off the control of the old party-line communists. They may not, in fact, be communists at all." The "real power base" within the SACP "is to be found in the trade unions, whose members are subject to union discipline but hardly aware of the need to learn to hum the 'Internationale'." Therefore, "don't be surprised, then, if the unions shake off their rider, convert the SACP into an old-fashioned workers' party, and settle down to do what they do best: negotiate with capitalists over the division of the spoils."

#### SOWETAN

Editorial Affirms Press Freedom—Johannesburg SOWETAN in English on 6 August in its page 6 editorial remarks: "It is proper that this newspaper should start a campaign on Press freedom and declare the intention to espouse the independence required of the media in free and democratic societies." "Already the temperature of intolerance is rising and people are dying because they hold differing views."



## RAPPORT

'Relief' at Government-ANC Talks—"It is with great relief that we note that the scheduled talks between the government and the ANC delegation will continue," begins an editorial on page 10 of Johannesburg RAPPORT in Afrikaans on 5 August. "The exposure of Operation Vula and the manner in which the Communist Party's meeting in Tongaat was handled, almost jeopardized the talks. The fact that the ANC and the SACP have confirmed their total support for the principles of the agreement reached at Groote Schuur, has done a lot to soften the blow caused by Operation Vula and has prevented a complete breakdown of the talks. "The past two weeks must have been a considerably trying time for M<sup>r</sup>. Mandela. The exposure of Operation Vula has emphasized that despite the fact that he is held in high esteem, he possesses very little power within the ANC. It was an equally big shock for the government. Disclosures that people with whom you are discussing peace, are busy preparing for war is equal to being stabbed in the back. This also undermines the trust that whites have placed in the process of negotiation. It can be regarded as a triumph that negotiations have not been jeopardized despite uneasiness on both sides. Hopefully, this attitude will be present at tomorrow's meeting."

Black, White Leaders Must Understand 'Fears of Others'—"Before a new political dispensation can be reached, the leaders of the various groups should first reach a new level of understanding," notes a second editorial on the same page. "During his address to the Vooortrekkers, President F.W. de Klerk said that nobody should have to choose between his Afrikaner identity and his South African identity. A synthesis of the two will have to be found. This approach is lost in the actions and speeches of some black leaders. Mr. Mandela has repeatedly referred to 'you white journalists' and in response to a valid question he remarked that it was being asked from a white perspective. The reverend Frank Chikane, chief secretary of the South African Council of Churches, has issued a statement where he disputes the right of white Christians to ask Mr. Mandela where he stands on the issue of Christianity, in the light of his sympathy with the communist party. According to reverend Chikane, it was the communists who stood by the suppressed blacks, not the white Christians. These arguments are futile." "Attention should be paid to the fears of others, and we should expect all leaders to participate in creating a climate of unity and compromise. The opposite of this could be too horrible to contemplate."

#### \* Plans for Night Patrol Causes Rightwing Discord

90AF0333C Johannesburg BEELD in Afrikaans  
14 Jun 90 p 5

[Text] The Afrikaner Resistance Movement [AWB] yesterday announced its strong opposition to plans by a far-rightist group in Pretoria to patrol the streets of the city and clear people off the streets.

Mr. Oscar Hartung, an unsuccessful HNP [Reconstituted National Party] candidate in Hercules as well as

leader of Power Campaign-Afrikaner Nationalism (MAN), announced these plans yesterday in Pretoria, saying that it is being done in consultation with the AWB and the HNP.

Nevertheless, there is now a charged atmosphere within the ranks of the AWB, MAN, and HNP concerning Mr. Hartung's plans. Mr. Jaap Marais, head of the HNP, distanced himself from the plans yesterday, saying that it is not the job of the HNP to set up commandos.

If the AWB and HNP are no longer willing to cooperate, he will continue on his own with the so-called White Front (BF), Mr. Hartung said after that reaction. The BF will patrol the streets as part of its job.

According to him, the BF is an offshoot of proposals made by MAN, and is not part of the commando system of the AWB.

Trapped in the middle of the curtain fire that has broken out over the matter is Colonel Servaas de Wet, commander-general of the AWB's commandos, but also deputy leader of MAN and a confidant of Mr. Hartung. Col. de Wet is a former policeman.

As of yesterday evening, it was still not clear whose side he had taken. His recent appointment as commander of the AWB's commandos, as well as the fact that he is a deputy leader of MAN, has landed him in a thorny position.

Mr. Hartung announced yesterday that, "in consultation with the HNP and AWB," he is in the process of dividing Pretoria into 14 commando districts. Among other things, the commandos will be used to get people off the streets late at night, he told BEELD.

If Mr. Hartung wants to get people off the streets, then he clearly has more forces than the Police, said AWB Secretary Mr. Kays Smit yesterday in Ventersdorp.

According to him, the AWB initially asked Mr. Hartung to organize Pretoria as a subdivision of the AWB's overall commando system. The request was a gesture of good will towards MAN, because Col. de Wet had been appointed head of the nationwide commando system, Mr. Smit said.

However, the task of the commandos remains one of self-defense for when a revolution breaks out, and it is not the job of the commandos to patrol the streets, he said.

Mr. Smit said that vigilante groups who patrol the streets are "Trompie gangs."

#### No Weapons, Dogs at Welkom March

Welkom—Weapons and dogs will not be permitted at the march being planned here for Saturday by the Afrikaner Resistance Movement. The administrative committee of the city council has given permission for the march.

Mr. Nico Louw, chairman of the administrative committee, says that the decision to give permission for the

march was made because the state of emergency has been lifted and because it can be done in accordance with municipal regulations.

The AWB wants to hold the march because Mr. J.P. Meyer, an AWB official in Ventersdorp, is being detained after a bomb went off at Melrose House in Pretoria.

Welkom Mayor Mr. Bill Odendaal says that he was not present when the resolution was adopted, but that he hopes that the march will be peaceful.

"Now is not the right time to hold a march. Welkom really does not need it. I am calling on organizations to ask themselves what they hope to achieve through marches in this tense community," Mr. Odendaal said.

The AWB will be allowed to fly its characteristic red flags.

#### \* Afrikaner Separatists To Settle in 'Orandee'

90AF0333A Johannesburg BEELD in Afrikaans  
13 Jun 90 p 9

[Article by Sarel van der Walt: "To Orandee—With Great Plans and Greater Dreams"; first two paragraphs are introduction]

[Text] What motivates someone to give up a secure profession and a comfortable house in order to move to a white national state in the barren northwest called Orandee, but that in reality exists only as the dream of a couple of idealistic Afrikaners who do not see their way clear to the hard realities of a nonracial South Africa?

In the following interview with Sarel van der Walt of BEELD's Pietersburg office, a young businessman from Messina talks about his plans to move to Orandee and of the wondrous future that he says beckons him to that national state.

Seven families who are big supporters of Professor Carel Boshoff's national state idea are moving at the end of this month to the northwestern Cape Province, whereby the end of next year they hope to ask for self-government in their own national state, Orandee.

Majority government, partition, and free rein are gone, and that is why we are moving, says Mr. Andre Putter, 35, a businessman and contact person for the Orandee Development Corps.

Orandee, which includes towns in both northwestern and northeastern Cape Province, wants to be an independent national state within 7 years. Towns in the proposed national state include Upington, Saldanha, Graaff-Reinet, Colesberg, Beaufort West, and Vredendal.

"It is immoral, unfair, and unethical for a minority to dominate a majority. And it is just as wrong to announce a policy of partition that cannot work," says Mr. Putter.

At this stage, he says, there are more than 6,000 people expressing interest in settling in Orandee. "We realize

that we will first have to create employment before large numbers of people can move there."

To start with, the Orandeers will take over the existing enterprises before any thought can be given to expansion, says Mr. Putter. He has been promoting the idea of a national state for two years.

Self-activity will be the key to success. "A nation that works is a busy nation that remains free and quickly becomes rich. The people who do not move are not honest about wanting to preserve their freedom."

But do they really believe that Orandee can be economically viable? "Orandee will be one of the richest countries in the world within 10 years. Money is no problem. Conservative groups abroad are expressing interest in investing in Orandee, and before long we will be founding our own bank—the Bank of Orandee."

"We have calculated that in 150 years the national state will have the means to support 20 million people."

According to Mr. Putter, it is unfair that whites in South Africa do not have their own homeland. "Nor is there such a thing as white South Africa, as the Conservative Party says. That is a dream. All that we are asking for today is our own piece of land."

According to him, the only people who can lay claim to that part of South Africa are whites and coloreds. Jobs will be created only for whites, and for the area's approximately 265,000 coloreds, work outside the national state will be created "in a just manner."

The people who do not move are not honest about wanting to preserve their freedom. As the situation stands right now, everyone who wants to be free will move. "What did the Voortrekkers do when they were threatened? They moved," he says.

"We do not want a national state simply for racial segregation. We want to preserve that which is important to us as a nation, such as language and culture."

The 95,000 people who sat on the rocks at Donkerhoek on Day of the Covenant 1988 will be the first to move, says Mr. Putter.

"Our message to President F.W. de Klerk is the following: There is only one way to protect group rights, and that is with a national state."

The Orandeers also have nothing against those people who do not want to move but instead want to help build a new South Africa. "They (the people who stay behind) will be reassured by knowing that there is a separate national state to which they can flee. These people should support us financially," says Mr. Putter, a married man and father of two children, who himself wants to settle in Kuruman or Olifantshoek, where he will man the Development Corps' domestic office.

The Orandeers themselves realize that they will have to be a majority in the area before they can petition for independence.

"I am an Orandeer, not an Afrikaner or Boer. Our language is Orandese, a pure form of Afrikaans."

No political parties will be permitted in Orandee, since political parties bring with them only divisions. The nation must govern itself, and the people who serve in the parliament must do so without pay. "A man who loves his nation will do that," says Mr. Putter.

According to him, there is major interest in the national state throughout the country. A dozen or so doctors and preachers are among the people who have apparently already stated their willingness to live in Orandee. The people who want to settle there must pay their own expenses and may use only the Orandee Vervoer-maatskappy.

"Orandee is the reject of the country. No one wants it, but no one has yet to tell us that we can't have it."

The prospective Orandeers have major plans for the arid piece of land. In an attempt to increase rainfall in the area, they want to divert part of the Orange River back to its original course. The result of this will be that quite a large number of natural lakes will again be filled with water. This water will evaporate in large quantities and increase the moisture content of the air.

They are also thinking about building a wall in the ocean near Saldanha, thus keeping the cold Benguela ocean current away from the coast. The cold ocean current has a negative effect on the area's rainfall.

The asphalt roads will be replaced by cement roads, and every farmer will be obligated to plant trees.

The Orandeers also have major plans for the economy. "If you look at what countries like Japan and Taiwan have been capable of, there is hope for us," says Mr. Putter.

For example, the iron ore that is mined in the north-western Cape can be processed in Orandee, and besides agriculture, fishing (fresh- and salt-water fish) can be expanded significantly.

Mr. Putter believes that foreign companies will invest in Orandee.

"Who knows, perhaps Orandee will some day step forth with a friendly economic policy towards neighboring states in order to save Africa."

#### **\* Rightwing Militant Tapes 'Declaration of War'**

90AF0332D Johannesburg BEELD in Afrikaans  
21 Jun 90 p 1

[Article: "Fear That Piet Rudolph's Own Supporters Could Betray Him"]

[Text] As the reward being offered by the police for Piet (Skiet) Rudolph becomes so attractive (now 50,000 rands), there is the possibility that supporters might reveal his hiding place.

In Cape Town, Dr. Treurnicht condemned Rudolph's actions, but laid the blame on the government for causing a feeling of utter frustration and insecurity. A Sunday newspaper revealed that yet another videotape has come to light, in which Rudolph "declares war" on the government, the ANC [African National Congress], the Pan-Africanist Congress [PAC], and the South African Communist Party, among other organizations. As far as it could be determined, that tape is the same as the one that was delivered to BEELD and radio station 702 on Monday.

Information has been pouring in to police headquarters since the announcement of the reward the day before yesterday by Minister of Law and Order Adriaan Vlok. The police are keeping quiet, however, about the nature of the information they have received and their conduct of the investigation.

While all the far rightists with whom BEELD spoke yesterday deny that Mr. Rudolph had remained in communication with them since the arms robbery on Good Friday at the Air Force Headquarters in Pretoria, they manifestly support his actions.

At a constitutional meeting of commandos of the Boer Front (BF) yesterday evening, Mr. Rudolph's actions received strong support. The blame for his actions was laid on the government.

Earlier yesterday, Dr. Andries Treurnicht, the Conservative Party leader, also blamed the government for subjecting people to "feelings of utter frustration and conditions of danger and insecurity." He added that his party does not endorse Mr. Rudolph's actions.

Mrs. Breggie Rudolph, Piet Rudolph's wife, said yesterday that although she is not involved in politics herself, she supports her husband. "I support him in my own way," she said.

Anyone having information concerning Mr. Rudolph may call Lieutenant Colonel Suiker Britz, the commanding officer of the Pretoria Murder and Robbery Unit: Work: (012) 323-8426. Home: (012) 345-1630. The police will not reveal the identity of any person who supplies relevant information.

#### **\* ARMSCOR Plans To Market Helicopter Overseas**

90AF0333B Johannesburg BEELD in Afrikaans  
14 Jun 90 p 2

[Unattributed article: "SA's Rooivalk Helicopter Passes the Test"]



[Text] The Rooivalk flies! The South African [SA] combat helicopter announced earlier this year has completed its hovering tests and has already achieved a speed of 115 km/h in forward flight.

This comes on the heels of ARMSCOR [Armaments Corporation of South Africa]'s decision to continue with the development of the helicopter on its own, despite the Air Force decision no longer to order the helicopters.

The decision to nevertheless continue with development was made because there is an international market for such a system and because the Rooivalk is one of the most desired helicopters of its type.

The helicopter was designed to be able to fly by day and night at heights of between 0 and 12 m, under enemy radar, and to provide close support to ground forces.

The veil over the helicopter's testing program was lifted yesterday for the first time since the Rooivalk was introduced on 15 January, as reporters were invited to take a look at how it flies.

Spokesmen for Atlas and ARMSCOR agreed that they are delighted at the progress of the testing program and that the Rooivalk has thus far met all expectations.

#### \* Eskom General Manager on Recent Achievements

90AF0417A Johannesburg *ENGINEERING NEWS*  
in English 29 Jun 90 pp 20, 42, 44

[Interview with Eskom General Manager (engineering)  
Alex Ham by Jill Stanford]

[Text] Eskom's general manager (engineering) Alex Ham has no doubt that technology and its application is the hub of South Africa's future economic growth. In an interview with the *ENGINEERING NEWS* contributing editor Jill Stanford he talks about Eskom's technological achievements to date and of his concern that South Africa is not producing enough technicians, technologists and engineers to exploit the country's abundance of natural mineral resources to our maximum benefit.

[Stanford] How does Eskom's engineering standard rate in world terms? It appears that Eskom are world leaders in certain areas.

[Ham] One must compare the state of the science and the state of the art as applied in the design of our power stations and electricity transmission systems with those to be found in high technology first world countries to get an appreciation of Eskom's engineering standard.

I could give you my own perhaps biased evaluation but it may be of interest to give you some of the feedback we have had from leaders of some of the major electricity supply utilities overseas.

Let me take the leading utility in Britain, one of the leading utilities in Germany and the leading utility in France and give you evidence of their opinion of the

technical excellence and cost effectiveness of our more modern coal-based thermal power stations.

There is a general acknowledgement that we are ahead in many fields in the application of state-of-the-art/state-of-the-science technology in our power stations.

I would, as examples, mention Matimba, Kendal and Lethabo power stations.

Should you invited any utility around the world to come and examine these three power stations I have no doubt that they will be suitably surprised and equally complimentary in terms of the application of new technologies, or the extension of what was previously considered state of the art technology in our power plants.

This is due to the fact that we in Eskom have had the opportunity resulting from sustained growth in demand for electricity over many years, to thoroughly evaluate technologies that were available in the past, and through our own experience and applying typical South African engineer's innovation and development, have been able to improve upon the technologies that originally came from the UK, Europe and the USA.

Exploiting Eskom's expansion programme we have broken away from some of the conservative ways of designing power plants.

We have been forced, by limited resources of high quality and water, to deviate from the well established technologies in the UK, Europe and the States and to apply, on a large scale, technologies that have not been proven on a similar scale anywhere else.

I'm pleased and also relieved to say that with a considerable degree of risk our engineering judgment has proved to have been correct and Matimba, Kendal and Lethabo are examples of success stories of new technology that has been applied on a very large scale.

On the electricity transmission side, I must say that the atmospheric conditions on the South African Highveld of high altitude in conjunction with severe lightening, has made the application of very high voltage—765,000 transmission systems—a significant technological breakthrough.

Much beneficial expertise has also been gained in the field of water effluent management.

Because of the national shortage of water and Eskom's early desire to comply completely with the Water Pollution Act, we have applied numerous technologies in the desalination of effluent waters and have the biggest desalination installations in the southern hemisphere.

We have identified the limitations and the deficiencies in the different state-of-the-art technologies which have mostly been imported from abroad, and have improved on those technologies to the extent that we are now recognised as a national leader in the field of effluent water desalination and are sharing our know-how with

the Department of Water Affairs and the Water Research Commission in South Africa.

[Stanford] Can you export this technology?

[Ham] Yes, the technology certainly could and should be exported.

We have involved some universities in applicable research to support improvements in this technology.

South Africa is in a strong position to make such expertise available on a commercial basis, not only in the field of power station effluent water desalination but also the desalination of effluent water from virtually any industrial or chemical industry.

We have first hand experience of the relative costs of desalination utilising different processes on a large scale and have considerable operating experience.

Needless to say we have encountered many problems, but with the expertise we have in-house and the expertise that is being built up at the universities as a result of these projects, we have been able to solve several complex technical problems.

Another area of expertise in which we believe we are abreast with the best in the world is the monitoring and modelling of air pollution due to power stations, industrial and township emissions.

We started that work in 1979 and have built up a very detailed data bank on pollution trends in the eastern Transvaal extending west into the more densely populated areas, including the townships.

[Stanford] Before you set up an enormous power plant such as Kendal or Lethabo do you test the technology on a pilot plant?

[Ham] In the case of dry cooling we did start off on a smaller scale some 18 years ago, but even that was on a full size application for a power station (Grootvlei).

We have scaled up that experience from 200 MW to well over 600 MW and committed ourselves to this technology for some 15,660 MW generating units.

In the field of combustion of very low grade coal we did not have the benefit of a pilot plant at all.

We tackled the combustion of such coal on a scale where we in one step virtually doubled the ash content of the coal.

Through research that we undertook on existing plants, Kriel and Matla power station boilers burning average quality coal, we gained an understanding of the behaviour of coal in full size plants and thus established the boiler design for Lethabo boilers without building a prototype plant first.

A certain amount of work in relation to the development of prototype coal burners was done by testing a single burner in one of our full size boilers at Matla power station.

Meanwhile we had already committed ourselves to the overall design of the boilers before these tests had indicated the capability of the burners with such low grade coal.

Certain pilot study work was done on the 765 kV transmission system at an installation next to Megawatt Park in the interests of optimising the conductor bundle arrangement.

Full scale loading tests were also carried out on the transmission line tower structures and insulator bundles.

[Stanford] What is your vision of the role of technology in the future economy of South Africa?

[Ham] I have a very clear vision of the role of technology in the future of our country.

The challenge that is before us is to provide opportunities for an improved quality of life for our increasing population—you and I have heard the figures quoted—1,000 new jobs a day.

South Africa as we know is not ideally suited as a major agricultural export country.

We have been blessed, however, with an abundance of raw minerals from the less sophisticated to several rare minerals that are sought after by first world countries.

It has often been said by several informed people that if we are going to exploit our natural mineral resources to the full and provide a better standard of living of all our people, technology is the vehicle through which this will be achieved.

Maximum benefit will not be achieved by just mining the mineral resources and exporting them in the unrefined or semi-refined state.

We have got to get into applying both high-technology and artistic craftsmanship on a bold scale.

We have got to exploit on our relatively cheap electricity and strive to fully utilise the labour potential that we have and the honourable aspirations of this large labour pool for a better quality of life.

Only technology will make it possible for this to be done.

I believe that the finances will become available and soon, when world markets become more open to us as the political situation improves, the rate of application of technology is going to dictate the rate at which we can fully exploit the mineral resources.

I anticipate that the demand for engineers, technicians and artisans will intensify dramatically from the mid-nineties.

My concern is that we produce only 1,225 engineers (35 graduating engineers per million of population) each year compared to Japan's 60,000 engineers (500 engineers per million of population) and America's 370 per million of population each year.

Figures for graduating engineers each year per million of population in other countries are 340 in West Germany, 270 in France, 250 in the UK and 220 in Australia.

It is alarming to see how far behind we are despite the numerous warnings that have been made by influential people over the years and how ill-equipped we are in terms of well trained people in the technological field.

I have no doubt that a significant controlling factor in terms of our future economic growth will be our ability to respond and provide the required technically skilled human resources.

[Stanford] Is South Africa producing enough technicians and do we produce the correct mix of skills?

[Ham] No, by no means do we produce enough technicians/technologists or the right mix of skills.

I feel we are guilty in South Africa of underestimating and undervaluing the role of the technician and technologist.

It would appear that South Africa needs to increase its supply of technicians at least fourfold to compare with countries such as Japan, Canada, Sweden and Australia.

The ratio of technicians to engineers in South Africa is 0.8:1 compared to Canada's 4:1, Sweden's 5.5:1, Korea's 20:1, Hong Kong's 7:1, Australia's 4.5:1 and Japan's 4.3:1.

We need more graduate engineers but we need many more technicians and technologists.

The universities have adequate facilities and are getting better support than the technikons and this is something that really worries us at Eskom.

The technikons are not getting the recognition and support they deserve and the number of people that are being turned away because we do not have sufficient technikon lecturers and facilities is a critical problem which must be addressed.

Industry must become more pro-active in playing its role to address these problems.

[Stanford] Are there enough technologists in decision-making positions of significance in the country?

[Ham] We have more than "the critical mass" of technologists in senior decision-making positions in business in South Africa.

Yet the business sector has failed to influence the policy makers in education, that is school education and post matric education, to realise by now that we are educating many of our young people in fields which do not meet the needs of commerce and industry, but rather the philosophical interests of educationalists who believe that an education in the human sciences and arts is more important and a more complete education than the narrower but more focussed education offered by science and technology.

Let me hasten to add that in the education of technologists we are also failing to realise that an adequate awareness of the human sciences is essential.

Of all the professions, engineering is one where the harmonious inter-relationships between people is essential for the creation and realisation of an engineering activity.

Engineers come into contact with a large variety of people and generally with people of different disciplines who have their own particular ideals in terms of their particular discipline.

Engineers therefore need to have particular human relation skills to be able to achieve the desired optimum end result which so often has to be achieved through negotiating a compromise between different parties.

So often young people coming from a university or technikon believe that if they are adequately equipped in the skills of being able to apply mathematics and science through the use of computers, the problems of engineering can be essentially solved.

The more time one spends in the engineering profession, the more one realises that finding the solution to technical problems and applying the sciences to design new systems in the easier part of engineering, it is the human factor which is the more difficult to address.

Hence in the education of technologists it is not just teaching mathematics and science and its application to technology—but also an awareness of human behaviour and the issues of people working in groups.

The country appears to lack an education strategy which matches the needs of a developing country, particularly when we look at the number of people who qualify at the end of a school career and cannot find jobs.

Although we have many technologists in senior business positions I believe there should be more technologists entering regional and central government than has been the case in the past and at present.

[Stanford] Does our university and technikon system correctly (or adequately) educate our technologists to become managers or senior decision makers? Do you think there is any change of thought necessary on this issue?

[Ham] We need to educate then train engineers, technicians and technologists primarily for the profession of engineering.

My view is that we need to equip them to be able to handle the people issues effectively while they are developing and practising as engineers and technologists.

We must be careful that we do not create the impression in order to be an effective manager one has first to be educated to be an engineer.



This results in the problem that is occurring now with young people wanting to move straight into management before having gained basic competence in their primary profession.

They have neither had the beneficial experience of making a success in their primary profession nor have they had the essential experience of working with and supervising people at lower levels prior to receiving formal management training.

[Stanford] Do you think that the whole management structure of South Africa might have to change to accommodate technology innovation and development in the future?

[Ham] I do not think so.

If the management structure of a company is dominated by people who are focussed on short term business performance and is low in terms of risk taking and the management team does not have a balanced representation from different professions to be able to evaluate the potential success of technological development, then I think management structure should be changed to be more balanced.

Likewise a management team that is overdominated by engineers and does not have people with a variety of experience in the business world would perhaps be imbalanced in the other direction.

There are several examples of companies who are perhaps too conservative and not exploiting to the full the maximum development of our mineral resources.

Because they are large companies they influence to a great extent what is happening in the mineral exploitation field.

This conservative approach can create an inertia which is so large that we lose the time advantage in rapidly exploiting new developments utilising the raw materials that we have.

When one is looking at the application of innovation and development in technology it requires people who not only appreciate the financial risks but people who have the desire to move from the present state of technology to a more beneficial state and have the courage to take bold steps quicker than the international competition.

So often the behaviour of business is to reward those who maintain the status quo and to prematurely reprimand those who have taken a step ahead in an endeavour to achieve an improvement and perhaps have not fully achieved the business benefit results that were expected in the short term.

There are examples of those who have exposed their company to considerable risk and themselves to professional risk. Having taken those risks the rewards to the company have been significant but little acknowledgement has been shown. We have got to be more adventurous in the application of innovation and we have got

to be more supportive when the initial results are not what one had hoped to achieve.

The profession must in the long term interests of all, move across business boundaries to support colleagues who are taking bold steps in technology development and apply the best of our skills and expertise to assist them to achieve the results that are desired and not stand back and allow the opportunity of technical advancement to be missed because of a corporate loyalty.

I propose that the various professions in South Africa should have a forum in which disappointments resulting from attempts at new technology development can be exposed.

The individual or company should be encouraged to expose the technical challenge in a forum where the members are more than anxious to apply their collective skills to achieve the success that was desired on the basis that South African engineers have succeeded rather than a single member of the profession having failed in isolation.

If we are going to exploit our raw materials to the national benefit we are going to have to take more risks more often.

[Stanford] Do managers in South Africa study management?

[Ham] Certainly in Eskom, and I believe in most other companies.

Our managers are very much aware and up to date in terms of management systems and techniques.

Where I think we are behind is in the evaluation of risk taking and our reaction when we have taken a risk and things do not work out quite as planned.

One that immediately comes to mind is how to marshal and exploit the expertise that is available within the profession in South Africa, even across business boundaries, because in the long term our competition is the rest of the world.

Ultimately our major market must not be seen to be the South African market.

#### **\* Future of Country's Nuclear Power Outlined**

90AF0413A Johannesburg *ENGINEERING NEWS*  
in English 29 Jun 90 pp 18, 38, 39, 40, 46

[Interview with AEC Chief Executive Officer Waldo Stumpf by Jill Stanford]

[Text] The Atomic Energy Corporation (AEC) has supplied the first full reload of fuel to the Koeberg reactors, a process that has been mastered on an industrial scale in relatively few countries in the world. It has now moved on to its next project, that of developing uranium enrichment technologies to make nuclear power more affordable in future. In an interview with the *ENGINEERING NEWS* chief executive officer of the AEC Waldo Stumpf



talks of new developments at Pelindaba and Valindaba and outlines the future of nuclear power in South Africa.

[Stanford] Eskom has just bought ground at Cape Saint Francis earmarked for South Africa's second nuclear power station. What will the AEC's involvement be in such a project?

[Stumpf] Nuclear power generation is an Eskom responsibility.

The AEC does not have the responsibility of producing nuclear power although obviously we have a very great interest in it.

It is Eskom's decision where it will build a nuclear power station, when it will build one, what type and what size.

However we are in fairly close contact with Eskom and we provide it with all the support we can upon its request.

This could include items such as site investigations and licensing of sites.

We are involved with Eskom at the moment assisting it with various site investigations.

[Stanford] Can you give us any idea of the likely technology to be used as well as the timetable for such a project and the anticipated price?

[Stumpf] Once again this is an Eskom responsibility and it will decide what type of nuclear reactor to buy.

In terms of world nuclear power it is fairly evident that the water cooled reactors are the most economic and viable reactors at present.

There are two types—the boiling water reactor and the pressurised water reactor.

The Koeberg station is a pressurised water reactor and this type is used mostly throughout the entire world.

I cannot talk on behalf of Eskom as to whether they will once again opt for this type, although I think it could be possible.

[Stanford] If a further nuclear power station is to be built, is it likely to use nuclear fission or nuclear fusion and why?

[Stumpf] It certainly will be a fission reactor.

Nuclear fusion is still a very long way off from technical maturity.

In fact there is not a single reactor in operation in the entire world.

I am an engineer, not a scientist, and I sometimes have the impression that throughout the world the scientists tend to be a bit optimistic as to when nuclear fusion could become viable.

I think that in the second half of the next century we will possibly have nuclear fusion as a power source.

There are still severe technical problems that must be solved, although I think the advantages are so attractive in the long run that the world will continue to carry out investigations.

Hopefully one day we will be able to utilise this enormous source of power which is available to all.

But my personal guess is that it will be the second half of the next century before we will find a commercial unit.

[Stanford] What is the present role of the AEC in the field of power generation?

[Stumpf] The acquisition of the reactor, the installation and even the operation of the reactor is an Eskom responsibility.

The AEC supplies Eskom with various services upon request, and one of the main ones is the fuel supply of Koeberg and hopefully further reactors later.

Fuel supply is a fairly involved process and has been mastered on an industrial scale in relatively few countries of the world.

I would guess between 10 and 15 countries.

The AEC embarked many years ago on a fuel supply programme as one of its strategic programmes and we have recently supplied the first full reload of fuel to Koeberg.

[Stanford] The AEC has succeeded in manufacturing fuel elements which were previously imported for the Koeberg nuclear power station. Can you describe the function of these elements in the Koeberg process?

[Stumpf] There are two reactors at Koeberg.

Each of them contains 157 fuel elements of which about 1/3 (or roughly 52 elements) is replaced every cycle which is normally between 12 and 18 months.

About once every year 52 elements are replaced so a new set of 52 fuel elements has to be supplied to each reactor.

The reactor supplies power for a cycle. Then it is shut down for refuelling, which normally takes about two to three months, although overseas where little spare capacity exists this is shortened to a month.

During the shutdown the spent fuel is removed and put into storage pool.

The new reload is introduced and all the elements are shuffled once again in a very precise pattern which is calculated to obtain an even power distribution.

One such reload contains about 25 tons of uranium.

To put that into perspective, the 25 tons of uranium would be the energy equivalent of about 2.5 million tons of coal.

Nuclear fuel is therefore a concentrated source of energy.

The manufacture of fuel elements is a very complex and involved process.

Basically there are four steps.

The first step is to extract the uranium out of the earth and convert that into a suitable form.

This technology is very well established and our mining industry is one of the leaders in the world in uranium extraction.

A concern here is that most of the uranium is associated with our gold, and gold is under severe pressure at the moment.

If gold mines keep on closing it may affect in the long term the utilisation of our uranium resources.

Once the uranium oxide is out of the ground it has to be converted into a gas, uranium hexafluoride.

This is done at a plant we have at the AEC.

The third step is to enrich the uranium hexafluoride gas in its U-235 isotope concentration.

Natural uranium contains 0.71 percent of the uranium 235 isotope and that's the important one for power generation.

This concentration has to be increased to about 3.25 percent U-235 for Koeberg.

This is a very difficult process and is done in our enrichment plant, the so-called semi-commercial enrichment plant.

The final step is to take this enriched uranium hexafluoride gas and convert it into a suitable form as a fuel element and this goes into the nuclear reactor.

Of the four steps, the first is handled by the mining industry and the latter three steps by the AEC.

I would say that the main area of involvement we have is in supplying this fuel to Koeberg.

[Stanford] What do you intend doing with spent fuel elements? Is there any chance that you will be able to recycle the spent fuel elements and if so, how, where and why will this be done?

[Stumpf] There are two things that could happen to spent fuel elements.

A decision could be taken to store them or alternatively to reprocess them.

There is still quite a bit of potential energy left in the spent fuel elements because they can't be utilised down to zero in the reactor.

Reprocessing is a very expensive process and is only economically viable if a country has a very large nuclear programme such as that found in France and some other overseas countries.

Once again what happens to the spent fuel is Eskom's decision because the moment we supply the fuel to Koeberg it becomes Eskom's property.

But I would certainly say that in the foreseeable future, until South Africa has a much larger nuclear programme, the spent fuel from Koeberg will be stored and not reprocessed, as it will not be economically viable at this stage.

South Africa will certainly not build a reprocessing plant within the next few decades.

France, Britain and a few other countries have industrial plants where they reprocess fuel for themselves or for other countries that have very large nuclear power programmes.

One could send this spent fuel over there to be reprocessed, extract the remaining uranium and plutonium in the fuel element and put it back into a new fuel element.

The fuel as it exits from the reactor still has some decay heat so it has to be stored underwater for some time, roughly between seven and 10 years.

The Koeberg reactors have storage pools built next to the reactor with enough space to store the spent fuel.

It could remain in the pool if there is enough space and the Koeberg reactor does have a fair amount of space.

Alternatively once this point is reached it is quite feasible to store it dry above ground in metal flasks.

The fuel elements are placed inside the metal flasks and put on a concrete slab in a building where they stand until a decision is taken one day to reprocess them.

Dry storage is a technology that's being carried out overseas and it's not too expensive.

One important thing I must point out is that, although South Africa hasn't signed the Non-Proliferation Treaty [NPT], there are a number of facilities that are under safeguards by the International Atomic Energy Agency.

The Koeberg reactor is one of them.

This means that the moment the fuel-elements enter Koeberg, they also come under safeguards and remain under safeguards forever.

Even if Eskom were to store them above ground they would still be under safeguards.

They cannot be diverted for any other means and remain under international safeguards.

[Stanford] The State President has closed the pilot plant for the manufacture of highly enriched uranium. What was the reason for this and what will become of that pilot plant?

[Stumpf] When we developed our enrichment process many years ago the first step was to build a pilot plant.

It had two purposes—one was to demonstrate the enrichment process and the second to produce some medium enriched material for our Safari research reactor.

The Koeberg reactors actually use very low enriched material. The research reactor uses medium enriched, about 45 percent.

The pilot plant performed very well and did produce a satisfactory amount of material for our research reactor.

But because it was not large enough to supply Koeberg in addition to our own small reactor we built the semi-commercial enrichment plant.

We call the larger plant semi-commercial because it is not so large that it equals the very large plants overseas.

It's more than sufficient however to supply the needs of the two Koeberg reactors.

It came into operation in September 1988 and although we have a few teething problems here and there it is running fairly well and has produced a fair amount of material for Koeberg.

We were then faced with a decision of whether there was any incentive to keep the pilot plant in further operation.

The decision that we arrived at was no.

It was a costly operation to run and there was no incentive to continue.

Firstly we had demonstrated the enrichment process and the large plant was running and secondly we had stockpiled a fair amount of material for our research reactor.

The decision to close the pilot plant on February 1 this year was done in consultation with the Government.

The plant is being slowly dismantled because we need the buildings for other operations.

[Stanford] The State President has left intact the plant for the production of enriched uranium. What will be the role of this plant and is there any chance of the products being manufactured here also being exported?

[Stumpf] This plant was built solely to supply Koeberg or Koeberg type of reactors with low enriched uranium.

It's a small plant in terms of world standards.

Its capacity is 300 ton separate work units a year (a 300 ton SWU a year plant) whereas many of the big commercial units in France and America are 10,000 tons SWU a year plants.

This is why we call ours a semi-commercial plant; it's actually fairly small in world standards but produces enough to supply between three and up to four Koeberg type reactors, so there's a bit of spare capacity available.

Once the plant has climbed its learning curve and is running smoothly at full capacity, which we hope will be within a year or two, the question will arise as to what will happen to the spare capacity.

At this stage, one could certainly contemplate exporting low enriched uranium although I must point out that to enter the world market of nuclear fuel supply is not easy.

There is a tremendous over capacity and a lot of competition out there.

It certainly will not be easy to compete with the very large plants overseas and we may have to store the excess material for future use.

[Stanford] Besides power generation, where do you envisage the enriched uranium from this production plant being used?

[Stumpf] Nowhere else. This is very low enriched uranium.

It cannot even be used for our research reactor which uses medium enriched material, so it is basically for Koeberg or Koeberg type of reactors.

Our first priority is to supply Koeberg and, if any excess material becomes available, the possibility of exporting it or stockpiling it for future use will be considered.

[Stanford] What else is happening at Pelindaba and Valindaba?

[Stumpf] One of our main activities is the production of fuel for Koeberg.

However this is not all the AEC does.

The AEC is the national nuclear research centre because in addition to our production work there's also a lot of R&D work being done here in the general application of nuclear technology to satisfy the needs of our country.

The AEC has embarked on a commercialisation programme which includes supplying our technology and knowhow, built up over many years, back to South African industry on a commercial basis.

And we have a very wide range of technologies covering a wide range of needs.

As one example we are supplying increasing numbers of isotopes for local medical and also for industrial use.

We do not supply all the isotopes used in South Africa but those that can be economically made here.

We also have a very wide range of spin-off technologies that we supply to industry.

One general field that we are certainly gearing ourselves up to is the field of pollution control.

We feel that in the general field of pollution control and possibly more in the field of air pollution, we have a number of very attractive technologies that we can offer and we are in close co-operation with various organisations, such as the primary metal industries, the ferro-alloy industries, Eskom and others.

Furthermore, we have a very wide ranging area of other technologies which we've had to build up over the past like specialised plating services, also offered to industry on a commercial basis.

The AEC is increasingly covering its own funds by external income.

For instance last year total income from external sources, and I am talking of non-government funding, was just under R200-million and we are certainly working very hard on increasing this proportion.

Our policy has been that the Government has funded the development of all this technology over many years and we now have the responsibility to plough it back to satisfy the requirements of South African industry.

We have also created a marketing and commercialisation department which is very active in this direction.

In fact on June 26 we launched what we call the "new AEC" at a function at the Johannesburg Sun.

This is the official launch of the AEC as a commercially viable organisation in supplying not only nuclear fuel, but other technologies which are nuclear related.

We started off in the early 1960s as a purely research organisation and we have transformed ourselves into a mainly production organisation in which research plays a supporting role.

Further, there is a lot of work going on worldwide in developing cheaper enrichment technology.

The enrichment technologies that are used in the world presently, are fairly capital intensive and therefore contribute to some degree to the cost of electricity by nuclear means.

The enrichment step is one of the major cost items—certainly by far the most expensive of the four steps I mentioned earlier.

So there is a worldwide effort in developing far cheaper enrichment technologies to make nuclear power more competitive in future.

We at the AEC are looking at two enrichment techniques: one is the so-called centrifuge development which has already been demonstrated overseas and, secondly, we have an alternative technology under investigation which makes use of laser.

There's no such plant running in the world yet but there is a lot of work going on worldwide on laser enrichment technology and the AEC is looking at a certain variation of one of the laser technologies.

We have had some promising laboratory results on both of these processes and very soon, hopefully within the next year or two, we will have to decide on concentrating all our efforts on one of them, developing it into a pilot plant and then hopefully later into a full scale commercial plant.

Our present uranium enrichment technology operates very well but it is also not one of the cheapest in the world. There is an incentive to replace it with cheaper technology.

In the long term, South Africa should be looking not only at supplying fuel for local use but possibly entering the world market in terms of exporting our uranium product in an upgraded form.

But then we need cheap enrichment technology so our objective is to equal at least on a commercial basis the world prices on enrichment technology.

[Stanford] What is the future of nuclear power?

[Stumpf] The Chernobyl accident and also the earlier one in America, the Three Mile Island accident, have certainly focussed attention on producing much safer reactors.

I think nuclear power for many years was seen as the villain of the world in terms of environmental concerns.

But I think the scene has changed completely in that people have accepted that power generation by coal produces air pollution.

It is now a worldwide belief that nuclear power is possibly not the villain it was always assumed to be and can be seen as a relatively "clean" source of energy.

Clean in inverted commas because there is no source of power that is really clean.

Even for hydroelectric power we have to build a huge dam and transport electricity by putting pylons across the countryside.

If you are looking for absolutely clean power, even solar power is not so clean.

Certainly a small solar panel to run your radio or telephone does not cause any visual pollution but if we were talking of supplying the whole of South Africa's needs, a solar panel farm of roughly 800 km<sup>2</sup> would be needed, that is about the size of Pretoria.

This you cannot do in the desert areas because solar panels, once they get dust on them, lose their efficiency.

You would virtually have to sterilise good agricultural land by covering it with a concrete slab and installing solar panels that have to rotate with the sun.

I think world public opinion, which was previously fairly negative towards nuclear power, has become far more balanced.

I wouldn't say that it's actively pro-nuclear yet. In some countries possibly yes, but in general it's fairly well balanced because the public has accepted that air pollution from fossil fuel does present some problem.

There is the acid rain effect, effects of smoke, ash and soot and the so-called greenhouse effect.

This is where nuclear power can play a significant role.



A nuclear power station like Koeberg under normal conditions doesn't produce any gaseous effluents so there's no air pollution involved.

All the effluents are either liquid or solid and are very small in volume.

I mentioned earlier that to supply one of the Koeberg reactors, 25 tons of uranium is required each year and that is basically your high level waste a year from such a reactor.

There is further waste called medium and low level waste but that is easy to handle and once again produced in small volumes.

I think another factor that the world has woken up to is that we are extremely wasteful in terms of energy efficiency.

Maybe our electric power has been too cheap in the past; it's too easy to just switch on a light and leave it on.

South Africa has a long way to go in increasing our efficiency of energy usage.

This is obviously a very attractive way of reducing air pollution because we just use less electricity and don't actually have to build any further power plant.

Thirdly, I must confirm that South Africa certainly has a large reserve of fairly cheap coal. But this is still finite and present indications are that our coal for power generation may run out towards the middle of next century.

When the coal runs out there are only two alternatives for South Africa.

One is to import hydroelectric power from the north where there is a lot of potential, especially from Zaire.

But the obviously we are relying on importing energy and will need stable political systems otherwise we could be cut off.

The only alternative indigenous source would be nuclear power and South Africa is fortunate enough to have large resources of uranium.

[Stanford] What percentage of electricity is generated by nuclear means in South Africa at the moment?

[Stumpf] South Africa generates 5.6 percent of its electricity by nuclear means.

[Stanford] What percentage of electricity do you envisage will be generated by nuclear means say in the year 2020?

[Stumpf] This is a matter that Eskom is investigating presently.

If South Africa does decide that once our coal is depleted we will have a substantial nuclear programme, it means that we will probably have to phase in nuclear technology.

We cannot wait until the year 2040 for example and then suddenly find that we have to build a massive infrastructure to accommodate a large number of nuclear stations very quickly.

We are probably looking at a phasing in process but exactly what proportion would be in use by the year 2020 is a matter that is being investigated by Eskom.

[Stanford] Why are we going the nuclear route once again? Is it not going to be above the heads of local suppliers?

[Stumpf] In terms of energy supply you have to think very long term.

To build any coal-fired power station is a very long term project; you have to develop the mine and build the power station.

Likewise, to plan and build a nuclear power station may take up to 10 years.

You have to think very far ahead and I think this is basically why the nuclear route is considered because we do foresee that at some stage in future the coal is going to run out.

This is why nuclear is still a viable option for South Africa and I think it will become more important in future.

[Stanford] What was the percentage local content of Koeberg nuclear power station which used French technology?

[Stumpf] The local content was between 35 percent and 40 percent mainly on the civil side.

I think South African industry was quite capable of supplying this sort of input.

If you look at countries like Korea, Japan and Taiwan—countries that have got fairly ambitious nuclear programmes because they have no other forms of energy—we see local content becoming increasingly important as more and more stations are built.

I think we'll probably find that situation developing here too.

The next station may once again be 35 percent to 40 percent, maybe marginally more.

But I don't think we should ever expect to achieve 100 percent local content because that is not economical.

Even on the coal-fired power stations this is not the case, although they certainly have a very high local content.

So it's a matter of phrasing in new technology and introducing local content as it is economically justified.

Once South Africa embarks on an ongoing nuclear programme the local content will gradually increase up to a certain level.

But this would have to be done on economic grounds.

[Stanford] Do you think we'll use French technology once again?

[Stumpf] Once again this is an Eskom decision. I can only say that in terms of world nuclear technology, France is one of the world leaders.

[Stanford] What have been the shortcomings of Koeberg nuclear power plant?

[Stumpf] As far as I am aware there are no significant shortcomings.

It is running very well and is supplying power at a very constant pace to the power grid.

[Stanford] Are you going to become signatories to the Non-Proliferation Treaty?

[Stumpf] The decision to sign the NPT is a government decision, although the AEC is consulted.

Our present Government is reviewing its position.

It is fairly high on the agenda but I wouldn't like to comment further.

## Angola

### Government-UNITA Talks May Be Postponed

MB0608171090 London BBC World Service in English  
1620 GMT 6 Aug 90

[From the "Focus on Africa" program]

[Text] The long-awaited third round of direct talks between the Angolan Government and rebel group UNITA [National Union for the Total Independence of Angola] seems to be in danger of being postponed yet again.

Last week there were rumors that the talks were about to restart. But now, reports from the Portuguese capital, Lisbon, say UNITA is demanding recognition as a legitimate political organization before it will discuss a cease-fire. Yet, Luanda's foreign minister says such recognition is out of the question so long as UNITA continues to wage the war. Anita Carlsson reports from: Luanda.

[Begin Carlsson recording] The Angolan foreign minister, Pedro de Castro van Dunem Loy, spelled out the government's point of view in an interview published by the state newspaper on Sunday [5 Aug]. He said the major obstacle to peace was UNITA's demand for an immediate political recognition, something that cannot be granted, he said, until the rebels agreed to lay down their arms.

Mr. Van Dunem said he understood UNITA's dilemma. If they dissolve the armed movement, he said, they fear they will lose the single most important instrument of pressure at their disposal, without a concrete guarantee of political recognition thereafter. To allay these fears, he stressed the absolute seriousness of the government's moves to create a multiparty democracy in Angola. The Angolan Government, he said, is totally committed to peace, and to that end it will honor all the commitments entered into during the negotiating process.

It seems then that the main difference between the two sides can be summed up as a question of timing. The government believes the cease-fire must be the first step. Only then, it says, can the full revision of the Constitution take place to permit a multiparty state. The government wants a committee of the great and good, including representatives of UNITA, to draw up (?new) Constitution, and only when it is in place will UNITA be legally eligible to seek recognition as a political party.

The foreign minister said this process could not be speeded up any further. If we can agree to cease-fire agreement, he said, then that will open up the way for intensive discussions over the finer points of a final peace agreement.

That may not be enough to satisfy the UNITA leadership. Speaking on the rebel radio station this afternoon, the UNITA leader, Jonas Savimbi, said the most (?important thing) now was the immediate installation of a multiparty system.

### Government Condemns Iraqi Invasion of Kuwait

MB0608194890 Luanda Domestic Service  
in Portuguese 1920 GMT 6 Aug 90

[Angolan Government "official statement" issued in Luanda on 6 August—read by announcer]

[Text] It is with indignation that the Angolan Government learned of the invasion of the state of Kuwait by Iraqi troops and feels that the resort to use of force against this state's sovereignty and territorial integrity is unjustified inasmuch as possibilities of a peaceful solution to differences between the two countries had not been exhausted.

Thus, the Iraqi invasion only contributes to worsening the military and political situation in the Middle East and frustrates efforts that are currently mounted with a view to establishing a lasting peace and resolving the conflicts in the troubled region through dialogue.

The Angolan Government condemns the invasion of Kuwait by the Iraqi Army in that it constitutes a violation of norms and principles governing relations between sovereign states, notably the United Nations Charter and the regulations of the Nonaligned Movement of which both countries are members.

In this context, the Government of the People's Republic of Angola calls on Iraqi Government to unconditionally withdraw its troops from Kuwait and respect this country's sovereignty and territorial integrity. It also calls on the involved parties to return to the negotiating table to find a negotiated solution to the conflict.

The Angolan Government also calls on the international community not to spare efforts to restore peace in the region and to abstain itself from carrying out actions that would lead to the worsening of the situation.

[Issued] Luanda, 6 August, 1990—year of the Party's Third Congress and of the broadening of democracy.

## Mozambique

### Chissano Addresses Frelimo Central Committee

MB0608105690 Maputo Domestic Service  
in Portuguese 1030 GMT 6 Aug 90

[Text] The Frelimo [Mozambique Liberation Front] Party Central Committee began a session this morning, with its emphasis on continuing to deepen democracy in the country. This Central Committee session is scheduled to wind up on Monday [13 August], and it will also analyze the military situation in the country and discuss the report on the evolution of the Mozambican peace process.

Seeing that the three years of the first stage for implementing the Economic Recovery Program, PRE, are over, the Central Committee will assess its results for the first time.



Lionel Matias attended the opening of the Frelimo Party Central Committee meeting, and he reports the following:

[Matias] Frelimo Party Chairman Joaquim Alberto Chissano called on those attending the Central Committee session to address creatively the issues they will be discussing. They must not allow laziness or the comfort of routine to stand in the way of change so we can achieve the ideals of peace, progress, well-being, and democracy.

In a 10-minute speech to the Central Committee members, President Joaquim Chissano said, quote, as in the past, the Frelimo Party must know how to renew so it can renew society and continue to have a political force that addresses the Mozambican nation's highest aspirations. Everyone is listening and attentive to what we say, unquote. The Mozambican head of state then said that the findings of this session will have a bearing on the future of all Mozambican people.

In his speech, President Joaquim Chissano said the debate on the draft project for revising the Constitution provided precise indications on the need to introduce important changes to our political and social system.

[Begin Chissano recording] It is by taking the national, regional, and international contexts as background that we must discuss concrete proposals for change in our political and social systems and in our party itself.

We must inspire our decisions in the popular debate promoted and led by the Frelimo Party and in the rich contributions given by the people.

Dear comrades: At each stage in the history of our country and the world, our party has tried to analyze the general situation, assess and understand the requirements and needs at hand, and formulate and propose the guidelines that have led the Mozambican people past the hurdles we have encountered. The party's unchanging aim has been to serve the nation's most profound interests.

We have known how to fight human and institutional errors within our society. While in the jungle, we thought and rethought methods and principles every time we felt the need for change in the (?behavior) of our people. This may have been a contradictory process at times, but it was always consistent with the aims we had defined. We must all relearn in the face of change and innovation. These are times in which doubt and experimentation make some of us hesitant, confused, demoralized, and despondent.

However, we must correctly adapt our methods and principles to deal with change and innovation; with the current situation in Mozambican society and southern Africa; and with the development of the international solution so we can strengthen the role Frelimo has always had of representing the large popular masses' aspirations and interests. [end recording]

### Further Comments

*MB0608115590 Maputo Domestic Service  
in Portuguese 1121 GMT 6 Aug 90*

[Excerpts] Comrades, members of the Central Committee, dear guests: The Frelimo [Mozambique Liberation Front] Party Central Committee today meets in its third ordinary session since the fifth congress, in conformity with our party's statutes.

In this third ordinary session, we will discuss issues of vital importance for the lives of our party and of the Mozambican state and nation. As is our tradition, we will listen to the Political Bureau's report to the Central Committee on the party's work since its last session; we will analyze the military situation in the country; and we will discuss the report on the evolution of the Mozambican peace process, which is an issue of common interest for all Mozambican people.

With the three years of the first stage for implementing the Economic Recovery Program over, we will analyze its results for the first time. One of the most important items in our work will undoubtedly be the assessment and discussion of issues raised during the process to strengthen democracy, represented by the great popular involvement in the debate of the draft project for revising the Constitution. Precise indications of the need for introducing important change to our political and social system emerged from that popular debate. We must speak about them.

This session is held within the framework of an international situation that is also characterized by increasing interdependence among nations and profound change in the quality of relationships among hitherto hostile political and social systems. This has been encouraged by a climate of tolerance, democracy, and peaceful resolution of conflicts.

The spirit of searching for constructive dialogue also prevails in our region with the aim of ending conflicts and identifying new means of cooperation and relations in the region and among its nations. Namibia's independence, the important progress made in South Africa's democratization process, the optimism with which we can view the Angolan peace process, and recent developments in our own country's peace process only strengthen our hopes for a future of stability and progress for southern Africa. [passage omitted]

The Frelimo Party has led a broad process of debate and change within Mozambican society since the beginning of 1986.

We have now arrived at the crucial stage of the process that will culminate in the final debate of the new Constitution. We have marched with serenity and trust. We have hurried neither our steps nor our decisions, though some wanted us to do so. We have not delayed decisions, despite the suggestions of others.

As has always been our tradition, we placed the emphasis of the process on the popular debate. As we had

announced many months ago, we drew up our proposals to the nation in line with that debate. A popular debate is not a referendum. A popular debate gives us an idea of what the majority wants. It gives us contributions from important sectors in society whose operation plays an important role in the daily quest for the nation's progress and well-being.

It is in this spirit that we call on the Central Committee and the Frelimo Party militants to creatively address the discussions we are about to begin. In particular, we must not allow laziness nor the comfort of routine to stand in the way of change so we can achieve the ideals of peace, progress, well-being, and democracy.

As in the past, the Frelimo Party must know how to renew itself so it can renew society and continue to have a political force that addresses the Mozambican nation's highest aspirations.

Dear comrades: The people are listening and attentive to us. Our work's findings will have a bearing on the future of all Mozambican citizens [words indistinct] the same awareness, the popular debate showed—I am certain—that we will confront the options before us.

For the defense of sovereignty! For the defense of national unity! For the defense of peace and development! The struggle continues! [Applause]

I hereby solemnly declare the Frelimo Party Central Committee's third session is now open. [Applause]

#### **Foreign Aid Reports Monitored 30 Jul-5 Aug** *MB0508175990*

[Editorial Report] Following is a compilation of reports monitored 30 July-5 August on foreign aid to Mozambique. Items are listed by donor. Source, date, and broadcast times follow each item.

#### **FINLAND**

The Finnish Government has made available a total of 30 million markkas, or "about \$7.5 million," for its "three-year integrated urban development project in Mozambique." The project began in 1989 at Nampula Province's Nacala port and is scheduled to end in 1992. Ncala was planned to accommodate a maximum of 20,000 people, but due to Renamo (Mozambique National Resistance) "bandit activity" elsewhere in the province, the city is now the permanent home of "over 120,000 people." (Maputo in English to Southern Africa 1100 GMT 1 Aug 90)

#### **FRANCE**

The French Government in 1990 is to give Mozambique 9,000 tons of cereals in food aid. The food will be distributed to primary schools in Maputo city within the framework of an assistance program that began last February. (Maputo Domestic Service in Portuguese 1400 GMT 25 Jul 90)

#### **JAPAN**

The Japanese Government has provided Mozambique with five Brazilian-made diesel locomotives valued "at about" 16.6 million Zimbabwe dollars. The locomotives were purchased under a "nonproject type grant aid agreement" signed by the two governments in March 1989. The locomotives will be used by the Mozambique national railways on the Beira corridor line, which links Beira with Manica and Sofala Provinces and with Zimbabwe, Malawi, and Zambia. (Johannesburg SAPA in English 1801 GMT 3 Aug 90)

## Cape Verde

### \* Opposition Leader Discusses Movement's Position

90AF0346A Praia VOZ DI POVO in Portuguese  
12 Jun 90 pp 2-3

[Interview with Movement for Democracy leader Carlos Veiga by Daniel dos Santos]

#### [Part I: 12 Jun 90 pp 2-3]

[Text] The interview that had to be done. Carlos Veiga, 41, Movement for Democracy (MpD) Coordinator, spoke for two hours with our reporter. In his first interview with the press the MpD leader, a lawyer, informed us of his movement's position on Cape Verde's new political situation.

He revealed a great deal, the most important item being what he said regarding the MpD's desire to negotiate shortly with the PAICV [African Party for the Independence of Cape Verde] and with other opposition forces to develop "a political agenda that would best serve the nation."

[Dos Santos] What is your impression of the first public meeting of the Movement for Democracy (MpD), which took place last Sunday [10 Jun] in Praia?

[Veiga] We think that the meeting confirmed what we had felt: in reality the movement is not a tight group of intellectuals; it is, in fact, a force that has a very broad social base, it embodies the discontent of a broad range of Cape Verde's population. It has, therefore, a great capacity for including people and leading them to support the struggle in which we are engaged.

[Dos Santos] Was the MpD surprised at the support it received in this meeting?

[Veiga] We were convinced that we had some strength because we had already made contacts and held public meetings on other islands and in other councils, and we had observed the enthusiasm with which people received us. We also had made several individual and group contacts with diverse people here. We suspected that there would be a great deal of excitement but in fact it exceeded our expectations somewhat.

[Dos Santos] How does the MpD hope to channel that support?

[Veiga] We are in an organizational phase in which we are going out into the field to make immediate contact with the people, listen to them, talk to them, and hold a dialogue with them. That is, to listen to their concerns and their hopes, and to convey our message.

[Dos Santos] You said that the MpD has a broad social base. What is the MpD's fundamental base? Among the cadres, or among the masses?

[Veiga] We think that the meeting on Sunday demonstrated well that we are not merely a movement for cadres. There were a great number of cadres present, but

also many young people, workers, officials, businesspersons, vendors, and others. It is an extremely diverse base. We feel that at this time we are not a movement merely of cadres. Far from it.

[Dos Santos] The MpD states that it is a big movement that embodies and expresses the generalized discontent of Cape Verde's society. Do you not feel that it is an exaggerated pretension to make such a statement, since opposition to the single party regime does not consist solely of the MpD?

[Veiga] We do not mean that the opposition consists solely of the MpD. We mean that there are many people who recognize themselves in us.

[Dos Santos] Do you mean that the MpD is presenting itself as the symbol of the opposition in Cape Verde?

[Veiga] I believe so. Right or wrong, at this time the people identify the opposition with the MpD, because the other forces have not attained the expression and the support that we have been able to develop.

[Dos Santos] The MpD has systematically denounced the State subsidies provided to the PAICV and its organizations. We would like to know if your organization has some idea of the total amount that should be allocated in the future to political parties.

[Veiga] At this time we maintain that subsidies should be eliminated for any party or for political organizations. Our country is poor, it is in great financial difficulty, there are people who have not received their salaries because there is no money, and therefore we think that it is unjust to subsidize parties or political organizations. We feel that they should basically survive through the activities of their militants and supporters. At this time we would refuse any subsidies that might be distributed to us.

[Dos Santos] Even if that forms a part of the law of political parties to be created in this country?

[Veiga] At this time, I believe so. Even if it figured in the law.

[Dos Santos] Why only at this time?

[Veiga] According to the current view on this matter, this is what we have concluded.

[Dos Santos] And in the future, what would be your position?

[Veiga] That remains to be seen. We think that in Cape Verde's current situation no party can be financed.

[Dos Santos] Even during the course of the electoral campaigns?

[Veiga] The parties should be capable of mobilizing the necessary resources on their own during the course of the campaigns.

[Dos Santos] Where do MpD funds come from?

[Veiga] The MpD lives primarily on the stipends, jewels, and donations of its members and sympathizers.

[Dos Santos] It does not receive support from any national or international organization?

[Veiga] No.

[Dos Santos] The MpD says that it does not recognize the PAICV's right to lead the process of change in Cape Verde. Why not?

[Veiga] We repeat that no one can be a judge in his own cause. One cannot be the referee in a game in which one is a player. If what is at stake in the next elections is democratic legitimacy, to know who is legitimate, who has the legitimacy to speak in the people's name, we think that the PAICV, being one of the candidates for that legitimacy, cannot effectively lead the people. It cannot in any way. Otherwise, the PAICV would, in effect, have an advantage over other political forces.

[Dos Santos] Then who should lead this change?

[Veiga] In our view, a combination of measures should be adopted that would create equitable conditions for political competition. These measures should be developed by consensus, that is, at the negotiating table, where all the political forces with global expression on Cape Verde's stage would be present.

#### Conditions of Equality

[Dos Santos] In your view, wouldn't the National Peoples Assembly (ANP) be the ideal forum to lead the process of change that is now under way in the country?

[Veiga] Formally it could be. And it would have to be. In fact, certain legislative changes will have to be adopted by the ANP. Simply put, the ANP will not advance on its own to the extent that the majority of its deputies are PAICV deputies and follow the PAICV line. If it were not so, the ANP would have repealed in May Article 4 of the Constitution, whose lack of correlation with the sentiments and aspirations of the Cape Verde nation have been clearly recognized by the ANP president. Therefore, there would have to be a consensus of the political forces, a consensus that the ANP would have to express. Without that consensus we do not think the ANP will be able to assume the role. To give only one example: Now, for the May session, a proposal to repeal Article 4 was put forward, but it did not obtain more than six or seven signatures. It needed 29.

[Dos Santos] That being the case, why is it that the MpD, during last Sunday's meeting, demanded, in a motion approved by acclamation, the immediate convocation of an extraordinary session of the ANP to repeal that article?

[Veiga] Precisely because from a formal point of view, the repeal of Article 4 can only be accomplished through the ANP. There is no other solution. But the process will not be set in motion without a form of pressure so that those who dominate the ANP, the PAICV, will recognize that maintaining Article 4 is not in the interest of society. Only the PAICV can set in motion the process within the ANP, since in fact, according to our Constitution, only the government

or 29 deputies can make proposals to revise the Constitution. And both the government and the great majority of the deputies are dominated by the PAICV.

[Dos Santos] The MpD, as you say, is set to oppose the formalization of the PAICV's political agenda. To do so, does this organization anticipate resorting to other forms of struggle, such as demonstrations and strikes?

[Veiga] We will have recourse to all forms of legal struggle, if necessary.

[Dos Santos] What do you mean by "forms of legal struggle?"

[Veiga] The use of the media and demonstrations, among others. We expect to utilize all of them. If it is necessary to demonstrate, we will not hesitate to do so to show that society desires a different agenda.

[Dos Santos] The MpD, as we observed during the meeting on Sunday, has shown interest in carrying out negotiations with the PAICV and with other opposition forces for the consensual formulation of an agenda for political change. Has the MpD made any contacts in that regard?

[Veiga] At this time no. We will do so soon.

[Dos Santos] Even with the PAICV?

[Veiga] Absolutely.

[Dos Santos] But when?

[Veiga] Shortly. Soon, this week.

[Dos Santos] What agenda will you take to the negotiating table?

[Veiga] What we made reference to in the speech during the meeting on Sunday, that is, the repeal of Article 4, the approval of a law of parties, the disbanding of the political police, the depolitization of the Armed Forces, an independent media, the elimination of subsidies, and a firm schedule for constitutional and electoral review. We feel that it is important that the transition be correct, or else democracy will be born lame and with developmental problems. We feel that for the transition to be correct it is necessary that we forget the past 15 years, that is a fact no one can deny, and that certain conditions be created for political competition.

#### We Are Against That

[Dos Santos] The MpD is as much against the February political agenda as it is against the April agenda presented by the PAICV. Why is that?

[Veiga] For different reasons. With respect to the February agenda our great problem was that it did not call for formulating a law of multiple parties until this year. The formation of parties would then be postponed, according to some officials of the PAICV itself, until 1995. We were absolutely against that. Now we feel that there is insufficient time between the creation of the minimum institutional conditions (that is, the repeal of



Article 4, the law of the political parties) and the elections themselves. Next, it calls for a presidential election by universal and direct suffrage that seems to us to be unnecessary. We were the first to call for direct presidential elections, but we feel that these should be held after the constitutional revision that will define the new balance of power between the sovereign entities. So long as we do not have all that, it is useless to hold direct elections for the president of the republic. Direct elections presuppose that the president, who has come to have legitimacy equal to that of the ANP, holds certain powers that permit him to be a factor of institutional equilibrium and stability.

[Dos Santos] The MpD opposes the PAICV's agenda. What agenda do you have?

[Veiga] We prefer to reserve its presentation for the negotiating table.

[Dos Santos] And what if negotiations are not accepted?

[Veiga] We will attempt at that time to release them publicly and we will struggle, by legal means that seem in our view to be appropriate, to demonstrate to society that our agenda is better and convince society to show the PAICV that it should, in fact, negotiate with us, since this is a national question that must correspond to a national consensus and we do not see why the PAICV refuses to enter into that consensus. If it refuses, we will return to unmasking the facts and later the people will judge the behavior of all the political forces on this question.

[Dos Santos] Does the MpD intend to make any alliances with other political forces to compete with the PAICV in the legislative and national elections?

[Veiga] It is still early for us to make a statement on that. It depends upon the evolution of things, on the correlation of forces that develops, and in the end, on the positions of all the political forces. At this time we do not have a definitive position on the question because we have not had formal contacts with any other opposition force.

[Dos Santos] Not even with the Democrats of Lisbon, who have shown themselves interested in discussions with the MpD?

[Veiga] Officially we have not had any contact with the Democrats of Lisbon.

[Dos Santos] The MpD does not support the reelection of Aristides Pereira or any other PAICV official. Do you have someone to present?

[Veiga] It is still early to take a position on that, if only because we have worked to prevent these elections from taking place this year. It is already a point of agreement among us that the elections should not take place before the legislative elections.

[Dos Santos] Then the possibility, put forth by a newspaper, of Supreme Court Justice Antonio Mascarenha being the MpD candidate for president is unfounded?

[Veiga] It is, in fact, unfounded. The MpD has not had any contact with Dr. Antonio Mascarenhas. However, he could be asked.

[Dos Santos] What does the MpD intend to do if the PAICV holds presidential elections this year? Do you intend to boycott them?

[Veiga] There are various possibilities. We do not wish to divulge them now publicly, because it is not the opportune time. We are analyzing the question. Our objective at this time is to move the PAICV to hold presidential elections before the legislative elections.

[Dos Santos] The MpD says that its "current position" does not support the reelection of Aristides Pereira. Do you expect to support him later?

[Veiga] That means that at a certain time the possibility of the current president remaining in power until the constitutional revision was one of the solutions we considered. Still, after the speech the President of the Republic gave in the ANP we came to the conclusion that in reality, the PAICV had not clearly defined the presidency to guarantee a nonpartisan position during the transition process.

[Dos Santos] The MpD has come to admit the possibility of...

[Veiga] The possibility of his remaining in power. However, that solution no longer satisfies us today.

[Dos Santos] And if Aristides Pereira decided to run again for the MpD?

[Veiga] In the first place, the MpD will not put forward candidates for president, although it could, however, support candidates; in the second place, I do not believe that would happen. In the third place, we repeat, the MpD's current position is that, according to the facts available to us, his candidacy does not fit the profile we think should correspond to the chief of state in this transition process.

[Dos Santos] Does the MpD agree then with the PAICV's idea of not admitting party candidacies for the presidential elections?

[Veiga] We believe so.

[Dos Santos] On what basis?

[Veiga] We think that, in fact, the President of the Republic should be an element of equilibrium between the various powers and that therefore, in order to guarantee a nonpartisan position which would be the foundation of this equilibrium, he should not appear formally linked to any party. His legitimacy should derive directly from a connection to the people.

[Part II: 14 Jun 90 pp 4-5, 9]

[Text] The economic options of the Movement for Democracy (MpD), agrarian reform, unionism, emigration, the political police, and ideology are the principal topics of the second part of this interview. Carlos Veiga, MpD Coordinator, spoke on other topics during his first interview with the press.

[Dos Santos] The MpD does not yet have an economic plan. Do you have some ideas?

[Veiga] We are in favor of a mixed economy in which the private sector predominates. We are in favor of private enterprise being able to function in all sectors of the country's economic, social, and cultural life. Only in this way can it in fact be possible for civil society to creatively help resolve the problems of Cape Verde's people.

[Dos Santos] You say that the MpD favors a mixed economy. Why?

[Veiga] We believe that in Cape Verde's situation all sectors of activity, that is, the public, cooperative, and private sectors, have in fact an important role. There will be sectors where it will continue to be indispensable for the state to have a direct role, and there the public sector should not hesitate to intervene. We think that there should continue to be a national health system; we believe that in education the state should continue to have a fundamental role and even in some sectors of the economy it is important that the state continue to act, to the extent to which civil society does not have, many times, the capability of confronting the problems that are posed. The recognition that the public sector has an important role to play does not mean that it should strangle the private sector or that it should exclude the private sector from areas where it seems to us that experience demonstrates that the private sector can, in effect, perform good work, perhaps better than that which has been accomplished by the public sector. We think that it is possible for the two sectors to act in coordination and harmony to achieve better results.

[Dos Santos] Is tourism excluded from these ideas?

[Veiga] No. It is one of the sectors of activity that should be developed. One of the country's advantages is that it possesses some natural conditions that favor tourism. We think that they should be utilized and developed, even much more than they have been until now.

[Dos Santos] On opting for a mixed economy, doesn't the MpD run the risk of being accused of supporting a typically capitalist plan for Cape Verde?

[Veiga] No. For us, the private sector covers not only business, but also everything that can be called social economy, the informal activities. We think that the social economy will have an extremely important influence in Cape Verde. In fact, it is already starting to have one, even despite all the obstacles. An important number of people are employed in this sector. For us, the private sector is not exclusively private capitalism. That has its

place, it is necessary for the development of Cape Verde's economy, but in our view the social economy sector is also extremely important.

**Reduce the Gap**

[Dos Santos] Will these ideas of the MpD be able to reduce the gap between the rich and the poor and eliminate social injustice in the country?

[Veiga] We believe so. It is necessary for civil society to have an active voice so that it can in fact resolve problems using the imagination it has always had. In that way, economic activity will be encouraged, employment will increase, people's incomes will also grow. The current solution is what is in fact leading to a worsening of that gap. Ultimately, the government's own reports recognize this situation. There is a concentration of wealth among the strata with a higher percentage of income and greater economic capacity, and a reduction of income among the least favored strata, primarily in the areas of high labor-intensity.

[Dos Santos] In the meeting on Sunday, the MpD spoke on unemployment. Do you have any ideas for reducing it?

[Veiga] Unemployment in Cape Verde can only be reduced through the development of economic activity. It is necessary to stimulate economic activity for it to develop and create stable employment. There is no other solution, otherwise we will eternally continue to have the so-called front of high labor-intensity. It is also necessary that people assume a less passive posture and become more independent.

[Dos Santos] How?

[Veiga] Through various forms of social economy that exist and which in fact permit people, in association with others, to resolve their own problems. Some experiments are being performed in various community development projects that show that it is extremely important that people be permitted to achieve on their own, though with support, an increase in their incomes to satisfy their fundamental needs.

[Dos Santos] Why did the MpD describe as "pseudo" the agrarian reform in Cape Verde?

[Veiga] Agrarian reform is a process that has various components, of which the most important are agricultural incentive, rural extension services, and access to agricultural credit for the peasants to be able to increase production and productivity. However, that has not been developed. What was done was only one aspect of that process: the conversion of sharecropping to ownership. A situation of conflict was also created between the various participants in the agrarian structure, which does not facilitate resolution of the various problems existing in the countryside, it does not facilitate increased production and productivity, and it has created traumas so serious that, for example, in Santo Antao the government's own reports recognize that it is impossible to

obtain the farmers' participation in the development of the island so long as those traumas are not overcome. We think that what was done then, was to polarize and stimulate conflict for ideological, demagogic, and electoral purposes.

[Dos Santos] You are of the opinion, then, that there is not, nor has there been, agrarian reform?

[Veiga] We do not think there was any, nor is there now.

[Dos Santos] Why does the MpD support the "jurisdictionalization of the resolution of agrarian conflicts?"

[Veiga] Because the agrarian reform commissions, which formally should function as jurisdictional bodies, grant independence, and focus on resolving the conflicts that arise in the countryside, do not have that independence nor that focus. They are dominated to a great extent by the PAICV [African Party for the Independence of Cape Verde] structures. They do not give guarantees of independence and competency. There has been great difficulty in filling the agrarian reform commissions, which have already proven in practice that they do not function. Cases remain inactive for long years without any resolution, creating an unstable situation for the two parties and conditions ripe for conflict. Yes, it is necessary to create independent and exempt bodies capable of resolving the conflicts. However, we are continuing to favor the nonlitigious route.

#### Review of Agrarian Reform

[Dos Santos] Does the MpD have any ideas, if it were the government, for eliminating the traumas caused by agrarian reform?

[Veiga] We think, for now, that the basic agrarian reform law should be reviewed as thoroughly as possible.

[Dos Santos] Reviewed or annulled?

[Veiga] We do not exclude the latter possibility. We say that it should be reviewed, but the analysis of that review could lead to the conclusion that we would have to completely revoke it and adopt other solutions. We think that it should lead to dialogue, cooperation and, in the end, a joint effort by all elements comprising the agrarian structure for increasing production and productivity. There have been situations in which the sharecropper and the owner were in agreement, for example, on the amount of the rent; and the intervention of the agrarian reform commissions led to situations of conflict by not accepting the agreement between the two parties. We think that an important maxim is that in every case a bad agreement is better than a good demand. At the opportune moment we will present our plan, which will most certainly have points regarding this topic of extreme importance for the development of Cape Verde.

[Dos Santos] The PAICV supports centralized unionism in Cape Verde. The MpD supports pluralism. Does your organization expect to create a centralized union, or support the existing one?

[Veiga] It would be up to the workers to decide whether, in fact, they desire to have one or more union centers. The law should not prevent them from doing that. We do not accept a law that says that there should be only one union center. If the workers feel that they should create various unions, we will approve and support the decision. The union is the institution that can best defend the interests of the workers. Now, if the workers freely decide to organize themselves in a union center, democratically chosen by them, we will accept that option. What we will not accept is a law that imposes it.

[Dos Santos] You have not yet answered our question.

[Veiga] We feel that political parties should avoid interfering directly in the life of the union organizations.

[Dos Santos] Why?

[Veiga] Because the union organizations are organizations that, as a primary objective, should directly represent the interests of the workers that comprise them, regardless of the positions of the political parties, which are more appropriate for engaging in electoral struggle and exercising power than for concretely defending, at all times, the workers' interests. The workers should have the freedom to defend their interests, independently of who happens to be in power.

[Dos Santos] What is your policy on emigration?

[Veiga] In the first place, our emigration policy will have to be defined with the emigre community in mind. Our emigration policy will have to be based on a poll of the emigres, with the participation of the emigres, during the formulation phase, and later during the implementation phase. We will therefore analyze with the emigres the problems, concerns, principles, and ideas that the emigre community supports and on that basis we will develop a policy that takes into account the interests of the emigres themselves. One thing is certain: We feel that the emigres have an essential and extremely important role in the development of Cape Verde, because they already participate in economic and financial terms, and because they comprise part of the Cape Verde nation. They should therefore have a voice in Cape Verde's development process. We thus feel that the emigre community should have deputies on the ANP. We propose to create emigre electoral districts. We were the first to propose that the emigres could vote and be elected directly in the localities in which they live, without having to move to Cape Verde and without having to vote for people who in reality in no way represent their interests.

[Dos Santos] How will the MpD negotiate the vote with the emigre community?

[Veiga] We do not intend to negotiate the vote, but rather to convince the emigres that we defend their interests better than other political forces, primarily the PAICV. We intend to convince them through our plan and through contacts that we have done so already and will continue to do so with respect to the emigres. For



example, the emigres in Holland desire a new visit from MpD elements as urgently as possible so we can clarify and expound our principles. That is how we intend to convince the emigres to vote for us, because we believe they will recognize in our plan and in our ideas solutions to our problems.

[Dos Santos] Does the MpD have any organization among the emigres?

[Veiga] In the contacts we have maintained with the emigres we have found a great deal of receptiveness. There are people who could potentially be integrated into the MpD. This structure has not yet been built, we only have contacts that will be maintained and developed to create the minimum structures among the emigres within a short time.

[Dos Santos] The MpD has sharply criticized the media. Do you still believe that the media is not being independent when it deals with opposition matters?

[Veiga] I think not. It is true that the opposition appears much more now in the State media, but we ask if we appear in the best light or if we appear in an objective manner, according to what we have said and done. An example would suffice: The treatment by the RNCV [Cape Verde National Radio] and by television of the meeting on Sunday. The RNCV omitted everything of importance that was said there, particularly what was presented as an MpD line of orientation. The RNCV tried to present the image that we only criticized the PAICV, and that is one of the PAICV's own charges. In addition, the RNCV and the television gave no hint that the assembly was enthusiastic, that it applauded several times for the speeches that were given. In fact, everything regarding the opposition is manipulated, and we think that is wrong on the part of the State media, paid for by taxpayers, and that it should be at the service of all society, informing objectively and not in the way that it does. On Tuesday's television news, the opposition news came after everything else. They gave the news of a TA? [Portuguese Air Transport] contest before the opposition news. That reveals to what point the opposition is taken into account. They showed the MpD meeting in a manner that was not the most correct, since it did not show the enthusiasm of those participating in the meeting, thereby giving a false impression of how it was.

[Dos Santos] Is that why the MpD demanded the resignation of the Minister of Information and the creation of a media council, in a letter sent to the President of the Republic and the Prime Minister?

[Veiga] Precisely. We do not have a dispute with the Minister personally. What is in dispute is the government policy that he embodies. If we ask for the reversal of that policy it is evident that the person who embodies it cannot be retained. For that reason we feel that that member of government, the holder of the Information portfolio, should be replaced as a condition for formulating a new information policy.

[Dos Santos] Has the MpD obtained a response yet from the President of the Republic and the Prime Minister's cabinet?

[Veiga] Not yet.

[Dos Santos] What do you expect to do?

[Veiga] We will repeat the demand that for us is fundamental, since it will assure the media's independence, that is, the creation of a media council. We will repeat that in the motion we will send to the proper recipient, and we will fight for the creation of equitable conditions of political competition. That would be one of the points of discussion in future conversations with the PAICV.

#### Greater Autonomy

[Dos Santos] On making that proposal, does the MpD now have some idea of how the media council should function?

[Veiga] It should work toward giving objective information and not manipulated, pluralistic and not to the exclusive service of a political force. We know that we are in an electoral campaign, since members of the government who travel on service missions take advantage of that to engage in party activities. This media council should be composed of people with proven independence, creative, and accepted by all political forces. It should also give the necessary orientation for matters to be processed in the correct manner, independently, and objectively, and apply sanctions.

[Dos Santos] Would the role of allocating airwave rights to political forces fall to this council?

[Veiga] Of course, we believe so. The equitable treatment of all the forces implies that all of them have equal access to the media.

[Dos Santos] If it were the government, how would the MpD manage the media?

[Veiga] The media should first be managed on the basis of great autonomy. A much greater autonomy than what is inherent in a public institution. In addition, it is doubtful that there should exist a Ministry of Information. For us it is very doubtful. We would establish norms that would lead the media to be pluralistic and act with the greatest possible independence.

[Dos Santos] Then you are doubtful about the existence of a ministry of information?

[Veiga] Because it is difficult for a ministry of information not to intervene in the media for which it is responsible, because in reality a ministry of information only has a place in countries where the power intends to have great influence in controlling the media. We do not intend to do that. Besides, we feel that there should be private radio stations, private television stations. We only want the media's public sector to be a public service that provides a good service to the majority of citizens.

[Dos Santos] The MpD has requested a review of the press law. Why?



[Veiga] Basically, our press law is not a bad law. It closely follows other laws, especially the Portuguese. Still, in some areas, language is utilized that contains excessively vague phrases that could be used in a negative manner as obstacles to freedom of expression. For us, censorship of the press is merely common censorship, practiced through the press. In addition there is a rule—Article 50—that says explicitly that for press crimes against the chief of state, proof of the veracity of the facts is not required. That could be dangerous if we were in an electoral campaign. Therefore we have demanded repeal of that article, because the truth must be told. The others—25, 47, and 60—have to do with the use of vague rules to which we referred earlier.

[Dos Santos] Very recently, during a speech at the ANP, the Minister of the Armed Forces and Security challenged the opposition to present proof of the existence of political police in Cape Verde. Does the MpD have any?

[Veiga] If what occurred in Cape Verde until a few years ago was not the result of political police activities, then what was it? It is clear that the political police in Cape Verde, a small country, did not have the operating capabilities of the political police in a much more powerful country, but within that relativeness our political police was very aggressive. The truth is that there was and still is a climate of fear in Cape Verde. There are still many people who ask questions. But can they now, in fact, speak at will? We pointed out various facts in the communication on Sunday that explain, in a definitive manner, the activities of the political police: people who were arrested and tortured for having ideas against the regime, people who were taken to court for expressing positions against the regime, people who were imprisoned for the same reasons. Those are acts of the political police that occurred up until a short time ago. Maybe, since two or three years ago that has not been happening. But we ask whether or not it could happen again in the future. The structure has been built, the apparatus is the same and even now that structure continues to operate in a more discrete form; for example, organizing files on members of the opposition, which are given to the PAICV.

[Dos Santos] Does the MpD have some idea of how the abolition of the political police in Cape Verde should be done?

[Veiga] It should be abolished, pure and simple. The people who work in that sector should be assigned other tasks. It is said that they represent three percent. Thus there would be no difficulties in abolishing it. That way, no one else would be persecuted for expressing their opinion. We also think that the legislation that gives the National Security Directorate the mandate to initiate trials for political crimes and that gives the military courts the mandate to judge those crimes should be completely reviewed. All that forms part of a system of political police. We then demand the abolition of the counterintelligence directorate, we believe that is what it is called, within the Ministry of the Armed Forces and Security structure, as well as the revision of the mandate

of the military courts and the National Security Directorate. It is the Public Ministry that should initiate criminal trials; the common courts should judge common crimes. We see no reason, with respect to political crimes, for this mandate to be given to the National Security Directorate and to the military courts. That only shows a mistrust of the magistrates.

[Dos Santos] What is the MpD's ideological stance?

[Veiga] We are a movement containing various ideologies. Our adversaries say that is a weakness, but it is a strength because until now all those ideologies have been capable of arriving at a consensus. The ideological definition will depend upon the program we are capable of presenting and the practices we come to adopt. We are not concerned with the question of ideology within the MpD.

[Dos Santos] The MpD is accused of being a Trotskyist movement. Is it, in fact?

[Veiga] What is Trotskyism? What was Trotskyism in Cape Verde? We know that Trotskyism was a straw man the PAIGC/PAICV [African Party for the Independence of Guinea and Cape Verde/African Party for the Independence of Cape Verde] used during a certain phase of Cape Verde's life to strengthen its control over the State apparatus and over society, employing a system copied from Stalinism; in the same way that in 1975 the PAIGC's enemies accused it of eating children. In the Soviet Union itself Trotsky has been rehabilitated. In any case, the MpD is not a Trotskyist movement. But it does not concern us that they attribute that name to us, since today in Cape Verde the MpD is not a straw man.

[Dos Santos] Nor does it intend to be?

[Veiga] Nor does it intend to be.

## The Gambia

### ECOWAS Summit on Liberia Opens in Banjul

AB0608132290 Paris AFP in French 1249 GMT  
6 Aug 90

[Text] Banjul, 6 Aug (AFP)—The Economic Community of West African States' [ECOWAS] mini-summit on Liberia, which is essentially aimed at discussing the possible intervention of a West African peacekeeping force in Liberia, was officially opened late this morning in Banjul by the Gambian head of state, Sir Dawda Jawara, in the presence of his counterparts from Ghana, Guinea, Nigeria, and Sierra Leone, as well as by representatives of the presidents of Togo and Mali, it was learned in Banjul.

OAU Secretary General Salim Ahmed Salim of Tanzania and ECOWAS Executive Secretary Abass Bundu of Sierra Leone are participating in the summit, which will discuss finding a peaceful settlement to the Liberian conflict.

No representatives from the rebel National Patriotic Front of Liberia [NPFL] or from President Doe's regime

were present at the opening of the summit. No NPFL delegation—reportedly sent yesterday to attend the summit and led by Thomas Woewiyu, the man in charge of foreign affairs in the rebel government—was seen in Banjul late this morning, journalists noted.

### **Jawara Opens Talks**

AB0608133890 Dakar PANA in English 1255 GMT  
6 Aug 90

[Text] Banjul, 6 Aug (PANA)—The first meeting of the ECOWAS [Economic Community of West African States] standing Mediation Committee opened behind closed doors in Banjul Monday [6 Aug], to consider and recommend measures to be taken by the 16-member community to end the carnage in Liberia.

Opening the meeting, ECOWAS chairman, President Dawda Jawara of The Gambia, said that given the loss of life, property and the refugees problem in Liberia, "we can no longer afford to let the situation deteriorate further."

The heads of state of Ghana, Guinea, Nigeria and Sierra Leone are attending the conference. Also present are the OAU secretary general Salim Ahmed Salim, the Togolese Justice Minister, Bitokotipou Yagninim, Mali foreign minister, Ngolo Traore and Cannon Burhghess Carr, the chairman of the Interfaith Mediation Committee on Liberia.

The mediation committee's meeting comes after two failed attempts by ECOWAS in Freetown, to get the contending forces in Liberia to accept its proposals of a cease-fire, an ECOWAS military monitoring force and an interim government of national unity. These proposals were, Jawara said, designed "to stop the fighting and return Liberia to democracy, peace and stability."

The committee is made up of The Gambia, Ghana, Mali, Nigeria and Togo, but Sierra Leone and Guinea are attending the meeting as their countries have been home to an estimated 400,000 Liberian refugees.

### **Meeting Ends, Intervention Favored**

AB0608183290 London BBC World Service in English  
1615 GMT 6 Aug 90

[From the "Focus on Africa" program]

[Text] This weekend, with no sign of a let-up in the Liberian civil war, ECOWAS [Economic Community of West African States] heads of state arrived in The Gambian capital, Banjul, for crisis talks to discuss their new peace plan. The plan would broker a cease-fire and put an international force into Monrovia to make sure it is observed. These moves would be followed by the establishment of an interim government. Well, the meeting opened this morning in Banjul and then adjourned after three hours. Elizabeth Blunt is there, and on the line Elizabeth Ohene asked her what had happened so far.

[Begin recording] [Blunt] Well, they opened with a very brief speech from the chairman, President Dawda Jawara. He urged all his colleagues to take it seriously and to consider it their responsibility. He made the point that they had to start with (?the thought that) this was an internal affair of Liberia, and nothing to do with them, and he said: But we were wrong. And that Liberia had now become, he said, a slaughterhouse. Women and children were being killed, thousands of people were being displaced, property, everything was being destroyed, it was beginning to affect the whole subregion. And he said people—our own people and the whole world—are looking to us do something, and we must take our responsibility. In fact....

[Ohene, interrupting] So how many of them are there?

[Blunt] In fact it looks as if they are taking it very seriously because they have virtually all come at the presidential level. This is not the whole of ECOWAS, this is a mediation committee. Flight Lieutenant Rawlings came this morning from Ghana, President Babangida last night, and President Momoh from Sierra Leone, Lansana Conte from Guinea—he was actually the first to arrive—President Jawara himself obviously is here. They have all come, and the only one who is not represented at head of state level is Mali, but Mali has sent a minister.

And they are obviously taking it very seriously. They have brought military chiefs with them to discuss the details of an intervention, and interestingly there were justice ministers around. So it looks as if they are talking about the legitimacy of some kind of ECOWAS intervention.

[Ohene] So, what is the talking along the corridors? I take it they have not yet made any public announcements about going in, but are they going in militarily?

[Blunt] Well, the talk in the corridors really is that basically they have agreed to do it. Basically they are in favor, and it was virtually agreed before they came. But the end of the session (?lasted) for more than three hours behind closed doors. When they came out, nobody was talking publicly really, but we did persuade one delegate simply to say that now they were down to specifics. Somebody else said, well, it is a question of working on the documents, an afternoon of consultations, and they will start another official session, a formal session, tomorrow morning to finish it up.

[Ohene] Are you able to tell in specific terms exactly what the military operation will involve? Where are the troops going to go in from, for example?

[Blunt] Well, there is a lot of discussion of that going on in the corridors. The impression I get is that Nigeria, which certainly would send the larger part of the force—their intervention would basically be from the seaward side—would be naval-based. And they would come in from the sea. But you have to remember, we have got for instance two neighboring countries to Liberia here: We have got Sierra Leone and we have got Guinea, both of

whom are involved in this military planning. And the suggestion—which I had not really anticipated—is that the suggestion seems to be that they would come in from their own borders and secure the borders and secure the roads in and out, which of course for the sake of other West Africans trapped in the country, is very important.

If the Sierra Leonean Army, for instance, could secure the border and open up the route to Monrovia, that would enable their own people to leave in safety, which they certainly cannot do at the moment. And similarly, Guinea on the other border. Of course the great, missing factor in all this is Ivory Coast, which is not represented, which is not part of the mediation committee, which does not seem to be playing any part at all. And Ivory Coast—the border is still wide open to Taylor and his people for the movement of supplies and of men and of everything else. A lot of people are muttering about one important thing would be to close that border to military traffic, but nobody seems to have any concrete suggestion about how that could be done.

[Ohene] Is Liberia represented at all at these talks? Is somebody representing anybody, any of the factions?

[Blunt] None of the factions. The only Liberian in the sessions is Canon Burgess Carr, who is one of the representatives of the Inter-Faith Mediation Committee, and he is there representing the church leaders who tried to mediate, together with ECOWAS, in the past. He is the only Liberian who is there at the meeting.

There was talk of Charles Taylor sending some of the people he has chosen as ministers, but they do not seem to have turned up. I do not think they were actually invited, but they would be very useful on the fringe of the meeting for people to consult them.

There is a great desire of the people here to know what is going on in Monrovia. As someone who has been there relatively recently, people are asking me what is happening. I wish I knew more to be able to tell them. It is a bit of a (?lapse) that there are really no Liberians around except the Canon. [end recording]

#### Further on Summit

AB0608192090 Paris AFP in French 1737 GMT  
6 Aug 90

[By special correspondent Jean Hountongbe]

[Excerpts] Banjul, 6 Aug (AFP)—The Economic Community of West African States, ECOWAS, mini-summit devoted to the Liberian situation opened this morning in Banjul but suspended its behind-closed-doors deliberations in the middle of the afternoon, according to a reliable source in The Gambian capital. [passage omitted]

According to reliable sources, the participants at the minisummit have categorically ruled out an interim government headed by President Samuel Doe, by

Charles Taylor, leader of the rebel National Patriotic Front of Liberia [NPFL], or even Prince Johnson, dissident of the NPFL.

According to observers, this firmness seems to testify to the willingness of the summit participants to create the best conditions for guaranteeing the success of the ECOWAS peace plan. This option would result in getting rid of Liberian President Samuel Doe, which would constitute an unprecedented event on the continent.

Furthermore, reliable sources say that, despite the difficulties during the meeting, the minisummit seemed to be geared toward immediate and rapid implementation of the decisions made in Banjul in order to appear firm to the international community, particularly after the American intervention in Monrovia yesterday.

The ministers of the mediation committee's member states (The Gambia, Ghana, Nigeria, Togo, and Mali) and the military officials of these countries should get together late this afternoon to examine the consequences (mainly financial, military, and perhaps legal) of implementing the ECOWAS peace plan, a delegate stated.

Yesterday, NPFL Leader Charles Taylor, who is not participating in the summit, announced that he would oppose, by force, any foreign interference in the Liberian conflict and any dispatching of foreign troops.

"We can no longer consider the wishes of the fighting factions in Liberia, while the war and massacre of innocent civilians continue and while the entire world seems to blame us for not assuming our responsibilities in this crisis," Facine Toure, the Guinean minister of public works and transports, stated.

The mediation meetings held in June and July in Freetown failed, another delegate also told AFP, "because ECOWAS wanted to listen to and take the advice of the fighting factions, particularly the advice of representatives of Charles Taylor and President Samuel Doe."

#### Ghana

#### Repercussions of Iraq's 'Unilateral Action' Noted

AB0608211690 Accra Domestic Service in English  
1800 GMT 6 Aug 90

[Excerpts] Iraq claims to have completed the first phase of its troop pullout from Kuwait, where she has succeeded in installing a puppet regime to run the affairs of the rich oil kingdom. Sam Bonsu-Abban of our radio newsroom looks at the latest development.

[Begin Bonsu-Abban recording] As worldwide condemnation of Iraq's invasion of Kuwait continues, Saudi Arabia is reported to have moved troops to the border along the neutral territory with Kuwait. [passage omitted]

One of the pipelines carrying Iraq's oil to the outside world passes through Saudi territory, and it is believed that the possible shutting off of this facility will figure



prominently in talks between Mr. Cheney and King Fahd. The other pipeline carrying Iraq's oil passes through Turkey, a member of NATO, and reports have it that President Bush has arranged a meeting with the NATO secretary general for talks on the closure of this outlet for Iraq's oil.

The unilateral action taken by Iraq is beginning to have wider repercussions for the economies of developing countries, including Ghana. Sight must not be lost of the fact that Iraq had all along not been satisfied with the present \$18 barrel price of crude oil, and had fought at the recent OPEC meeting in Vienna to raise the price to \$25 instead of the compromise price of \$21. Now, in the face of moves to shut off Iraqi and Kuwaiti oil to the outside world as a result of Iraq's naked aggression against Kuwait and uncertainties over the supply of oil, world oil prices have shot up, and a barrel of crude oil is said to be hovering around \$26. It does mean that if steps are not taken now to bring Iraq to its knees, the possibility of petrol prices going up in the developing world cannot be ruled out.

As the 15-member UN Security Council convenes later today to decide on moves to punish Baghdad for invading Kuwait, one hopes members will pay serious attention to proposals by the United States to halt all sales to Iraq and Kuwait, except for medical goods and food, and a complete ban on all purchases from the two countries. It is a good sign that France has already ordered an immediate halt to all imports from Iraq, in compliance with the decision by the European Community, and Japan has also agreed to do the same.

In the words of President al-Asad of Syria, if every country were to impose its illegitimate viewpoint through aggression and the use of force as Iraq has obviously done, the world would resemble a jungle. Iraq must be made to withdraw unconditionally from Kuwait. [end recording]

### **Fishermen Attacked in Ivory Coast Return Home**

*AB0608222090 Accra Domestic Service in English  
1800 GMT 6 Aug 90*

[Excerpts] Another batch of 40 Ghanaian fishermen in Cote d'Ivoire have returned home after attacks on them by their Ivorian counterparts. The attacks started on the 19th of last month after the Ivorians accused the Ghanaians of using unapproved nets and dangerous chemicals for fishing. According to the immigration officer in charge of Jewi Wharf, Mr. Joseph Odartey-Lamptey, about 78 Benin citizens have also crossed the border to New Town Wharf to escape similar attacks on them.

Meanwhile, Mr. B.G. Ayembilla and Mr. G.K. Ansah, first and second secretaries of the Ghana Embassy in Abidjan, have met border and security officials at Jewi Wharf after an inspection of 10 villages belonging to the Ghanaians which were burnt by the Ivorians. [passage omitted]

Mr. Ayembilla advised fishermen attacked by Ivorians at Big Assini and Assini-France in 1985 not to return to the area.

### **Asamoah on Benefits of Hosting Nonaligned Summit**

*AB0608170090 London BBC World Service  
in English 1830 GMT 3 Aug 90*

[Text] There is growing concern in Ghana over plans for the next nonaligned summit to be held there at the end of next year. It is due to cost around \$23 million to host the meeting, and that is a lot of (?dollars) for a country with such a rickety economy as Ghana's. Well, the man who is in the firing line over the decision to hold the nonaligned in Ghana is secretary for foreign affairs, Dr. Obed Asamoah. Ben Ephson asked him how he reacted to the reservations about the cost of the meeting when poverty was rife in Ghana.

[Begin recording] [Asamoah] You know, man cannot live by bread alone. Neither can a nation live by bread alone, and the good image either of a nation or of a person is something one strives for. So that even a hungry man is concerned about the image that he cuts in a society. In the same way, a hungry nation must also be concerned about the image that it cuts in the world community.

[Words indistinct] one will ask: Where is the money coming from? But the money is going to come from friendly sources, and it has been the tradition within the Nonaligned Movement to ask for help from other members of the movement in hosting the conference. So it is not going to affect the development program for the year, and apart from that there are great economic advantages to be derived from hosting this conference.

[Ephson] Sir, before you get to that, how much are we expecting from friendly sources?

[Asamoah] Well, I mean, we hope that we will be able to break even at the end of the day, but of course you can't tell, because you know, it is too early yet to know what you are going to get. But the provision of the conference center in itself is a money-making exercise. When people come to the conference, they spend money, and then your tourist industry gains thereby. This country has tremendous opportunities for tourism. If you want to talk in terms of the African revolution, this is the country where you can come and more or less relive the past: You have the Nkrumahs; you have the Padmores; you have people like Du Bois. These people were buried here. For the Africans in the diaspora, this should be a kind of a Mecca.

[Ephson] The spirit of the Economic Community of West African States [ECOWAS] seems to work in theory, but in practical terms, problems seem to draw its success back. What is your ministry—Ghana being one of the leading ECOWAS members—what is your ministry doing to bring these nice declarations on paper to nice practicalities on the ground?

[Asamoah] Well, actually it looks very disheartening when you see how the governments and the peoples in



the subregion behave sometimes. It is very disheartening, and you sort of look at ECOWAS as an empty shell, but really it is not. But by and large quite a lot is being achieved. We have the protocol on the free movement of persons and goods; it has been implemented in part. We are now going on the third phase which is the right of establishment. We have had the first phase, which is the entry without visas; then we have the second phase, which enables you to establish businesses and that sort of thing. And we have gone to the stage now of a trade liberalization system whereby certain goods now are brought in within a trade liberalization scheme, and that is beginning to work.

We had agreed at the last meeting in Banjul to have a monetary union by the year 1994. That is going to bring us again closer together. [end recording]

### Liberia

#### Evacuees Tell of Government, Rebel Killings

AB0608152890 Paris AFP in English 1358 GMT  
6 Aug 90

[Text] Freetown, Aug 6 (AFP)—Sixty-five Americans were airlifted to Freetown late Sunday [5 Aug] from war-torn Monrovia by U.S. Marines who had entered Monrovia early Sunday.

The evacuees spoke of their "horrifying experiences" in the Liberian capital including "indiscriminate killings of civilians by both government and rebel forces." Most of the evacuees left on a British Airways flight to London late Sunday.

#### Thousands of NPFL Supporters Demonstrate

AB0608171890 Paris AFP in French 1544 GMT  
6 Aug 90

[By Barry Parker]

[Text] University of Fendell (Liberia), 6 Aug (AFP)—Tens of thousands of supporters of the National Patriotic Front of Liberia (NPFL) rebel forces of Charles Taylor today demonstrated at the University of Fendell to protest against a possible intervention in their country of some member countries of the Economic Community of West African States. ECOWAS, the AFP special correspondent has noted. Most of the demonstrators, who chanted "Taylor or nothing," are part of the 184,000 people who found refuge on the University of Fendell campus 25 km north of Monrovia.

"Doe must go," men, women, and children shouted, while staging a five-kilometer protest march around the campus. "Liberia will be the cemetery of foreign aggressors," the placards read in particular, a warning which is a repeat of the pronouncement made by Charles Taylor, who yesterday called for fighting "to face any foreign intervention."

Between their slogans hostile to President Samuel Doe, the demonstrators sang religious hymns which people repeated along the road in shanties. The demonstrators, who sometimes ran, crossed the main road with dozens of people fleeing the fighting in Monrovia. Most of those people, who have come to join the movement, held up their fists in support of the demonstration.

However all the refugees at Fendell did not participate in the demonstration. "Some are hungry and others are tired," Minister Eddie Gibson explained, stating: "No, this is not a compulsory demonstration. Our people support the NPFL. The front supplies them with rice. Only the NPFL protects our people. The only thing that Doe's men understand is the cylinder of a revolver," he concluded.

Rufus Parwon, a rebel in charge of security on the campus, accused those who did not participate in the demonstrations of being supporters of President Doe. "They are all supporters of Doe. We feed them and yet they just sit there and do nothing," he declared.

"We are not forcing them. We are trying to make them understand. When they are hungry, they come to see us and we give them food, but we would like them to come out and march with us. They lack good faith," Rufus Parwon continued.

The NPFL rebel leader, Charles Taylor, also called this morning for demonstrations at Buchanan, the second largest Liberian town; Kakata (60 km from Monrovia); and Gbarnga in the hinterland at a time when a minisummit, attended by seven ECOWAS member countries, is taking place in Banjul, The Gambia. The possibility of sending an intervention force to Liberia is expected to be discussed at this meeting, official sources disclosed today in Accra.

"We will take guns, machetes, and knives, and we will kill them all," Charles Taylor told the large crowd, referring to the threat of foreign intervention. "If I die today, never allow anyone to come here," he told the demonstrators who had marched chanting, "We want Taylor."

"You must act; this is not the time to be sitting down," the NPFL leader continued.

Protesting any eventual intervention by the Economic Community of West African States of which Nigeria could be the leader, Charles Taylor added: "A Liberian made slave by a Nigerian, never. Nigeria has its own problems, but now they want to come to our house and tell us how to manage it?"

"Africans have ruined their countries and they want to ruin ours as well. To hell with them," said the NPFL leader, wearing camouflaged war gear and a bullet-proof vest.

"We are a poor people, but we are proud," Taylor continued. "This revolution is not Charles Taylor's revolution, it is the people's revolution," he concluded.

He was loudly cheered, but the crowd reserved the best ovations for him when he announced that more rice

would be distributed. As he started to leave, followed by truckloads of his personal guard, NPFL fighters knocked down a giant sign announcing the construction of the "Babangida Institute of International Studies," named after the Nigerian president.

#### **Comment on Possible African Intervention Force**

AB0608112690 London BBC World Service in English  
0730 GMT 6 Aug 90

[From the "Network on Africa" program]

[Excerpts] We will turn our attention first to the increasingly complicated situation in Liberia. Dan Isaacs has been watching events for us, so over to you Dan.

[Dan Isaacs] With the landing of American marines in Monrovia yesterday morning in an operation code-named Sharp Edge, the Liberian civil war took on a dramatic new turn. [passage omitted]

The Americans have now announced that this operation has been completed without major incident or injury, and attention is now focused on today's meeting of West African heads of state in the Gambian capital, Banjul. They are there to discuss a plan to send in a joint African intervention force into Liberia. I asked the BBC's West Africa correspondent Elizabeth Blunt, who is in Banjul for the talks, whether the warring factions of President Doe, Charles Taylor, and Prince Johnson would all welcome such an intervention.

[Begin recording] [Blunt] I think President Doe would be quite happy to see that. It would be a dignified way out for him and it would offer him the possibility of handing over to an interim government properly constituted that was not headed by Charles Taylor. He should welcome it, he has got no way that he can win this war and his men are besieged in Monrovia. Johnson has said that he would welcome an intervention and for very similar reasons, he, finally, at the moment, can hardly expect to win. His men have fought very well, but they are only fighting with small arms and hand weapons, and, to win they would have to take the Executive Mansion and that would need artillery and the sort of supplies and reinforcements that Johnson just does not have.

The real sticking point is Charles Taylor, because it would defeat his plans utterly. He has captured all, at least nine tenths of Liberia. He has come very close to ousting Doe. He has still got lots of men; he has got open supply lines back behind him to the Ivory Coast; he has got artillery; he wants to be president; and, any intervention force would come and put in somebody else to run the country in the interim and he would have to fight an election.

[Isaac] Now [there is] the possibility of an African peacekeeping force arriving in Liberia to sort the situation out, how different would that be to an American military intervention in the situation?

[Blunt] Well, it certainly would be different from what the Americans say they are doing which is purely to rescue their citizens. And the ECOWAS [Economic Community of West African States] want to rescue their citizens, certainly, but they are also talking about going further. What they would really like is to be able to put in a peacekeeping force. President Jawara, who is chairing the meeting today told me yesterday afternoon that what they would hope to do is contact all three parties, all the three belligerents, and get their agreement to an immediate cease-fire, then, they would go in, they would monitor that cease-fire, they would reestablish law and order, and make it possible to create the conditions in which Liberians themselves could set up their interim government, and hold elections, and bring back peace in their country. [end recording]

And, taking part in today's talks is Dr. Abbas Bundu who is the executive secretary of ECOWAS, the community of West African states. On the line to Banjul, I asked him about the role of the proposed peacekeeping force.

[Begin recording] [Bundu] It is very clear that quite a number of foreign nationals are stranded in Liberia and particularly in Monrovia. And, it is generally accepted practice for a state to seek to protect their citizens when they are caught in a conflict situation, especially in an area where law and order appear to have virtually broken down.

[Isaac] Do you feel that threats from Charles Taylor, that he wants to see no external force arriving in Liberia at all, could be a severe danger to the external forces that would arrive in Liberia?

[Bundu] During the ministerial meeting in Freetown, a cease-fire was suggested to them by the ministers. All the parties, except the Patriotic Front delegation, accepted. The Patriotic Front delegation refused to accept the cease-fire and that resulted in an impasse at the ministerial level. Of course, that is a matter that heads of state will have to consider in their deliberations.

[Isaac] Do you think the force would stay on to maintain peace and work within a transitional government?

[Bundu] The monitoring group will stay for as long as it is necessary, but I would imagine once peace and tranquility is restored in the country, then a decision will be taken about the dispensation of the force. [end recording]

#### **Sierra Leone**

##### **Doe Troops Flee Liberia, Surrender to Chief**

AB0408214490 Paris AFP in French 1952 GMT  
4 Aug 90

[Text] Freetown, 4 August (AFP)—Sixty-nine Liberian soldiers, including 6 officers, part of the government's 6th Infantry Battalion, reached Sierra Leone on Wednesday [1 August], it was learned on Saturday from a military source in Freetown.

The battalion, stationed in Bomi Hills (northwestern Liberia), had been attacked on Wednesday by rebels of the National Patriotic Front of Liberia (NPFL). About 50 of the soldiers who were in barracks left their posts quickly to avoid being overwhelmed by the large number of assailants, the officers said. They took trucks toward Sierra Leone, a distance of about 50 kilometers, crossed the border, and surrendered to the traditional chief in Baiwala, about 300 km northeast of Freetown. The soldiers were handed over to the Sierra Leone military, disarmed, and taken to the capital, according to the same military source.

It appears that these soldiers were the last government presence in the western half of Liberia to wear uniforms and resist the rebels, who now control all of eastern Liberia, including the Monrovia-Freetown route.

#### **OAU Donates \$25,000 for Liberian Refugees**

*AB0608154490 Freetown Domestic Service  
in English 2000 GMT 5 Aug 90*

[Summary from poor reception] "The director of the Organization of African Unity Commission of 15 on refugees, Chief Segun Olusola, has disclosed that the secretary general of the OAU, Salim Ahmed Salim, has

donated \$25,000 as a support (?fund) for the Liberian refugees in Sierra Leone. According to SLENA [Sierra Leone News Agency] Chief Olusola, who arrived in Freetown last Thursday [2 Aug] to assess the situation of Liberian refugees in Sierra Leone [words indistinct] at a press conference this morning at the Bintumani Hotel, said that the number of Liberian refugees has increased from 30,000 in mid-April to about 60,000 in mid-July."

The director noted that his mission also consists of sensitizing the international community on the magnitude of the plight of the refugees with a view to mobilizing additional resources for humanitarian assistance. He said they have already held talks with government officials and UN agencies like the UN High Commission for Refugees [UNHCR], nongovernment organizations, and border authorities on the type of strategy to adopt in helping the local people.

"Chief Olu Segun thanked the government and people of Sierra Leone for their humanitarian assistance as well as international agencies, especially the UNHCR, and appealed to OAU member states to provide financial and material assistance" to the government of Sierra Leone for the upkeep of the 60,000 Liberians.

**END OF**

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**DATE FILMED**

8 August 1990



